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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1455

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WARSAW PACT NAVAL ROCKET EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Capt (Navy) Marek Soroka: "Rockets in the Target; Hot Days in the Soldiers' Summer"]

[Excerpt] The operational staff and the navies of East Germany, of Poland and of the Soviet Union recently completed exercises on the Baltic Sea.

Military cooperation between the fleets, individual types of naval forces, naval aviation and coastal defenses, all bound together in friendship, was improved in the course of the training activity. There was a rise in the level of operational and tactical training of the staffs and a high level of quality in the specialized and general sea preparedness of those participating in the exercises. Their cooperation during the achievement of the tasks, as well as numerous fraternal meetings between Soviet, East German and Polish soldiers and sailors who were on the decks of the ships and in the coastal areas, provided an opportunity for further strengthening of fraternal friendship among the armed forces of the socialist countries, united in a defensive alliance.

There was a great variety of training enterprises.

Consequently the crews of naval aircraft, submarines, torpedo boats and rocket boats had an opportunity to "sharpen" their skills.

For example, a representative of the last mentioned class, the rocket boat "104," made simulated attacks on targets indicated to its commander. In addition to simulated rocket strikes, the rocket boat mentioned above completed a considerable number of varied tasks on the sea ranges during the training days. The results of analysis of the activity carried out on the KTR-104 during the preparatory period and during the attack phase and

the effects of complicated computations, based on such data as the time and place of the simulated firing, the correctness of the settings and so on were not the only evidence of their skill in making effective rocket strikes. A substantial proof of the skill of the rocket men, not only on the KTR-104 but on all of the rocket ships of the Polish MW [Navy] participating in the exercises, was the number of targets filled with holes during the sharp-shooting.

The openings in these targets, several meters wide, which produced an image similar to the projection of a large floating unit on the radar station screen, thanks to reflector radar, were not only testimony of the excellent training of the rocket boat crews, but also of advanced specialized preparation and of the self-sacrifice and accuracy of the base experts. As a rule they do not see the final effect of their shooting in the form of **smashed** or perforated targets, nor even the actual moment of firing when the rocket leaves the rocket launcher in the midst of noise and smoke after the commander of the ship has depressed a button on the starting panel.

People usually see them as winged missiles on metal bases or in the hangars where the rockets are prepared. Here, with the aid of control apparatus, every detail is subject to scrutiny. Among other things Junior Ensign Mark **Cast** is in charge of on-board control devices, Ensign **Andrzej** Szaj of armament, and Ensign Jan Leszczynski, Ensign Mieczyslaw Kolman, Boatswain **Ryszard** Chmielewski, Boatswain Antoni Ciura and their subordinates take care of propulsion equipment.

The authorship of the successes, which the distinguishing grades obtained for rocket firing are, is therefore distributed between the base specialists, among whom outstanding specialists should be given special recognition, and the members of the rocket boat crews. It is obvious that the leaders of the boats play "first violin," personally carrying out the basic activities crowning the work of those responsible for initial and final preparation for firing.

Wlodzimierz Danek, Second Lieutenant of marine engineering, supervises the rocket artillery work on the "104" rocket boat. He is a young officer. The rocket firing which his boat executed during the exercises was the baptism of fire in this kind of task for the recent graduate of WSMW [Higher Naval School]. There was a bit of emotion... Actually it was expected that everything would go right, because the rocket artillery branch, just like the rest of the crew, enjoys the title of Socialist Service Collective, and thus their qualifications speak for themselves, but this is always a test of nerves. After all, this was "his" first rocket...

The rocket was launched. After some time the news was received that the rocket had hit the target. Tension gave way to relaxation and satisfaction. Everyone had a full right to share in it: Senior Boatswain Wacław Jurski, the commander of the firing control device crew; Boatswain Janusz Dziugo, the chief of the rocket launcher group; and Seaman Stanisław Andrzejczak, the commander of the launching crew, and others.

Since the seamen of the ships of the three fraternal flags making the rocket attacks had reason to be proud of their results, everyone was in good spirits later during friendly meetings organized at the base for the crews from sailing units of the USSR, East German and Polish navies. Friendship permeated the ceremonial atmosphere during which Navy Second Lieutenant Benedykt Wisniewski spoke in the name of the members of Polish crews. He spoke interestingly on the joint marksmanship of the rocket boats of the three fleets, stressing the importance of the cooperative skill strengthened on this occasion, on the exchange of training experience and on cementing friendship and brotherhood. Boatswain Jan Czarnecki spoke from the shoulders of his non-commissioned officers.

In addition to the official affairs, there were also spontaneously organized visits of Soviet, Polish and East German sailors to each other's ships. The discussions of members of the Komsomol and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] were interesting and useful, and were an opportunity for the presentation of achievements and styles of work in the youth organization.

As has been said, KTR-104, which has been a prism for presenting this outline of selected training episodes, carried out tasks of very different types, from sharpshooting on the rocket range to aiding auxiliary sailing units in searching for training torpedoes after torpedo boat attacks. This shows that in contradistinction to rocket boats, the "mosquitoes of the sea" attacked simulated enemy ships with the factual use of their "stingers," so that the torpedoes passed beneath the keels of the ships, the target, because of their proper settings.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Upper right. Rocket after launching. After a time the tension gave place to relaxation and satisfaction because the target was hit perfectly. (Foto WAF-St. Iwan)
2. Center left. Loading rockets into the launching ramp. Base specialists made every effort to see that the complicated apparatus of the winged missile worked perfectly. Now everything depends on the crew of the rocket boat. (Foto WAF-I. Sobieszczuk).

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN PLANE CRASHES IN ROMANIA, 29 DEAD

Romanian Aviation Department Reports

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 77 p 5

[Text] The Department of Civil Aviation of Romania reports that in the evening, on 21 September, an aircraft belonging to the Hungarian company MALEV, on the Istanbul-Bucharest-Budapest line, crashed in the area of Cosereni Commune. Some 29 persons, including 8 members of the crew, lost their lives. Measures were taken immediately to assist the 24 surviving passengers, including two slightly injured persons who received all the necessary care. In accordance with international norms, an investigation is being carried out by Romanian authorities and a governmental investigation commission has been designated for this purpose. Also, a Hungarian commission of experts arrived at the scene of the accident on Thursday.

AGERPRES Reports Hungarian Announcement

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 77 p 5

[Text] Budapest 22 September [AGERPRES]--The agency MTI, reporting on a communique of the Ministry of Communications of the Hungarian People's Republic, announces that there were 53 persons on the aircraft, including 35 citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic, 4 citizens of the FRG, 6 Turkish citizens, and 8 members of the crew. According to examinations carried up to the present, 24 persons--23 Hungarians and 1 Turk--survive. Some 21 passengers and 8 crew members lost their lives.

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BULGARIA

UKASE SPECIFIES ROLE OF PUBLIC ORDER VOLUNTARY UNITS

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 26 Jul 77 pp 641-642

[State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic Ukase No 1104 on the voluntary units of the working people]

[Text] In accordance with Article 94, point 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic promulgates the following

Ukase No 1104

On the Voluntary Units of the Working People

Article 1. The voluntary units of the working people are public organs whose task is to assist the respective state organs in maintaining public order and protecting the security of the country and the state borders, defending the right and legitimate interests of citizens, protecting socialist and private property, fighting crime and other violations of the law and antisocial actions, insuring traffic safety, protecting the environment, and educating the citizens to maintain socialist law and order and obey the rules of socialist morality.

Article 2. Voluntary units shall be created on the initiative of the working people on a territorial or production basis by district, rayon, village, unit and construction project, in transportation, in agroindustrial and industrial-agrarian complexes, in labor cooperative farms and state farms, and other economic organizations, establishments and schools.

Article 3. Bulgarian citizens over 18 years of age possessing the necessary moral-political and practical qualities shall be accepted as members of the voluntary units of the working people.

Article 4. (1) The voluntary units shall carry out their activities observing strictly the socialist legality. They shall exercise their influence mainly through explanations, warnings, and other forms of persuasion.

(2) The unit members shall perform their duties in the voluntary units of the working people on a voluntary basis in their nonworking time. Under exceptional circumstances, as stipulated in the regulation on the application of the ukase, they could carry out their duties during working time as well but for no more than 3 working days per month.

Article 5. (1) The people's councils and their executive committees shall provide the general guidance and supervision of the activities of the voluntary units of the working people.

(2) The Ministry of Internal Affairs shall provide methodical guidance to the voluntary units and help in the training of unit members.

Article 6. (1) Implementing the tasks assigned to them by virtue of this ukase and other legal stipulations, the unit members have the right:

1. To demand of the citizens to observe the order established in the country;
2. To demand of the individuals caught in a crime or gross violation of the public order to produce identity documents and clarify on the spot the circumstances under which the action was committed; they have the right to confiscate with a legal document objects used in the commission of the crime or the violation and to deliver them to the nearest unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs;
3. To draw up statements and levy fines for which they issue receipts on administrative violations, should this be stipulated by law or ukase;
4. To take to the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the headquarters of the voluntary units individuals who have committed crimes, who are unruly, or who grossly violate the public order, or else whose identity cannot be established while there is information that they have committed crimes or gross violations of the public order;
5. To take to the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs violators of the state border and of the passport-border system;
6. To demand, if necessary, the assistance of officials and private citizens;
7. To demand of drivers of state, cooperative, or other public or private vehicles to drive to medical establishments individuals in a helpless condition in public places or accident victims;
8. To use free of charge urban transportation facilities with the exception of taxicabs and make free use of communications facilities of establishments and organizations if on duty;

9. To enter clubs, sports stadiums, motion picture theaters and other public places in pursuit of hiding delinquents or to put an end to incidents and violations of the law in such places and, with the agreement of the administration, carry out their duties in maintaining public order;

10. To demand of motor vehicle drivers who violate traffic rules their driving permits and take them to the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs should they have consumed alcohol or are unable to produce a driving permit.

(2) Individuals taken to the staffs of the voluntary units in accordance with point 4 of the preceding paragraph shall be released immediately following the necessary investigation but no later than 1 hour, or else delivered to the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(3) In the cases stipulated in paragraph 1, items 4, 5 and 10, if the individuals are military servicemen, the unit members shall report the event to the military commandant's office, the commanders of the units in which they serve, or the organs of the military procuracy without taking them to the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the headquarters of the voluntary units.

Article 7. The executive committees of people's councils, and the heads of establishments and organizations shall provide the upkeep and the necessary material facilities for the voluntary units of the working people.

Article 8. (1) Unit members who actively participate in the struggle against crime and violations of the public order shall be rewarded in accordance with the procedure and conditions stipulated in the regulation on the application of the present ukase.

(2) For particular services in the implementation of their tasks and for displayed daring and heroism, unit members may be recommended for orders, metals and other distinctions in accordance with established procedure.

Article 9. (1) The family of a unit member who has lost his life during or in connection with the implementation of his duties shall be awarded a one-time monetary compensation which shall include monetary assistance as per Article 162 of the Labor Code.

(2) The amount of the compensation as per the preceding paragraph and the conditions governing its allocation shall be determined by the Council of Ministers.

(3) The monetary compensation as per paragraph 1 shall be paid out by the executive committee of the people's council on whose territory the voluntary unit of working people of which the victim was a member operates.

Article 10. Unit members who participate in carrying out assignments during working time shall receive their gross labor wage from the establishment or organization which employs them but for no more than 3 working days per month.

Article 11. The state and public organs and organizations shall assist the voluntary units in the implementation of their assignments within their range of competence.

Article 12. The procuracy shall supervise the legality of the activities of the voluntary units of working people.

#### Concluding Stipulations

§1. The Council of Ministers shall issue a regulation on the application of the present ukase.

§2. The interaction between the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the voluntary units of working people shall be based on a regulation issued by the minister of internal affairs in coordination with the Commission on Executive Committees of People's Councils of the Council of Ministers.

§3. The implementation of the present ukase is entrusted to the chairmen of the executive committees of okrug people's councils.

Issued in Sofia on 20 July 1977 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:  
T. Zhikov.

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:  
N. Manolov

5003  
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BULGARIA

UKASE ON CREW MEMBERS PASSPORTS

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 26 Jul 77 p 642

[Bulgarian People's Republic State Council Ukase No 1106]

[Text] In accordance with Article 94, point 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic issues the following

Ukase No 1106

Supplementing Ukase No 115 on Seamen's Passports  
and Cards in the Bulgarian People's Republic

(Published in IZV., No 37, 1956; amended, No 632, 1961; DV, No 8, 1975,  
and No 93, 1976)

Only paragraph. A new paragraph No 2 shall be added to Article 3 to read  
as follows:

"(2) By permission of the minister of transportation or his duly appointed  
representative, seamen's passports may be issued also to Bulgarian citizens  
members of crews of ships sailing under foreign flags."

The implementation of the present ukase shall be assigned to the minister  
of transportation.

Issued in Sofia on 20 July 1977 and sealed with a state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;  
T. Zhikov.

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;  
N. Manolov.

5003

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NEW BULGARIAN PUBLIC HEALTH MINISTER

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Jul 77 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Academician Radoy Popivanov -- Minister of Public Health"]

[Text] By ukase of the State Council Dr Angel Todorov, minister of public health, was relieved from duty as a result of transfer to another position. Academician Radoy Popivanov was appointed minister of public health.

On this occasion a meeting of the collegium was held at the Ministry of Public Health on 21 July. It was attended by Ivan Dragoev, head of the BCP Central Committee Administrative Department, who gave a positive rating on the work of the former minister and presented academician Radoy Popivanov to those present, wishing him creative successes in his new field on the health care front.

Academician Radoy Petrov Popivanov was born on 9 August 1913 in Pleven in a progressive family. His father was member of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] and a close assistant of Al. Stamboliyski and R. Daskalov.

Academician Popivanov graduated as an MD in 1939 from the Medical Faculty in Sofia, after which he worked as section physician in Bulgarene Village, Svishtov Okrug. In 1942 he was appointed regular assistant professor at the Institute of General Biology and, the subsequent year, the University Clinic for Internal Diseases. In 1948 he was elected regular docent and, in 1953, professor at the Chair of General Biology at the Higher Medical Institute in Sofia whose leadership he assumed the following year.

He is a member of the BZNS Administration Council and has been a people's representative since 1962 and chairman of the Commission for Labor, Public Health and Social Welfare of the National Assembly; he has been deputy chairman of the Commission on Social Policy since 1976. He is deputy chairman of the Bureau of the Guidance Committee of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group, and member of the Interparliamentary Union Council.

Academician Popivanov is familiar to our medical public as a noted scientist and teacher. His scientific activities include the publication of over 200 works, 140 of which are works of scientific research, 10 monographs and textbooks, and over 50 scientific articles, and other publications and popular science articles in the field of general biology, parasitology, anthropology, and immuno-hematology.

He is one of the pioneers of the development of a new scientific trend in human and general biology -- reproduction immunogenetics. He has contributed to modernizing blood transfusion and the diagnosis and prevention of haemolytic disease in newborn children through his blood group studies.

His works are known in Bulgaria and in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, France, the FRG, Britain, Japan, the United States, and other countries.

He is the bearer of the following awards for merits in the field of medicine: the honorary title of "Honored Worker in the Sciences," the order Bulgarian People's Republic Second Class, the order Kiril i Metodiy First Class, and others.



Academician Radoy Petrov Popivanov

5003  
CSO: 2200



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ DAILY ON TOPICAL LEGACY OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 77 p 3 AU

[Article: "October Revolution--The Greatest Event of the 20th Century; Topical Legacy for the State and Law"]

[Summary] The Great October Socialist Revolution has become a milestone also in the sphere of the theory of law [pravo] and the state and its implementation in practice. October dealt with a crushing blow to all who were attacking and distorting the Marxist-Leninist teaching about socialist revolution, the socialist state, democracy and law and the 60 years which have elapsed since its victory have fully confirmed its correctness and viability.

"The revolutionary legacy of the Great October for the current offensive ideological struggle against international imperialism in the issue of the state, democracy and law is still topical and it gives strength to all progressive forces in the struggle for peace. It is necessary to emphasize this fact particularly in the present period when the bourgeois concept of the state, political system, democracy, freedom and civic rights, as well as the anticommunist misinterpretation of the international pacts on human rights, are becoming the decisive content of a frontal ideological attack against the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist community."

As a result of the victory of the October Revolution, the socialist state--the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat--has become a reality.

The experience acquired from the construction of the Soviet state has confirmed that the only force capable of leading a struggle for the creation of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the establishment of socialist democracy is the communist party which proceeds from Marxism-Leninism.

"The past 60 years have convincingly proved that the state-legal [statopravni] theoretical front can fulfill its revolutionary mission only when it consistently respects the leading role of the communist party and the leading position of the workers class in the sphere of the socialist state, democracy, political system and law."

The characteristic feature of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and law is its party-mindedness. Therefore the state-legal scientific front has an irreplaceable place in the ideological sphere and actively participates in the ideological struggle for the fundamental values of socialism with a consistently class approach toward the questions of the state, democracy, political system and law.

The Soviet experience has fully confirmed Lenin's finding that the socialist state is the fundamental instrument for the construction of socialism and communism.

The theoretical legacy of October concerns the science of the state and law as an indivisible entity, and thus also the socialist law. Already during the October Revolution the first legal norms (decrees) of Soviet power were issued, which significantly contributed to the consolidation of the new proletarian state and to the development of socialist democracy.

The October decrees, which gave the foundation to the socialist legislation, are still topical for the theory of the state and law. In the decrees are anchored the generally valid Marxist ideas on the socialist law and the decrees provide the basis for the decisive legal branches of the socialist legal order.

"The past 60 years have confirmed that the Soviet power, as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has insured unprecedented freedom and democracy in practice for the majority of the working people, democracy which is impossible in any capitalist country. At the same time it has become telling evidence of the fact that only the socialist political system can insure a really genuine democracy for the masses of the working people, the socialist political system which rests on the socialist ownership of the means of production and which eliminates the exploitation of man by man, and which rests on the political power of the workers class, implemented under the guidance of the party in a class alliance with cooperative farmers and socialist intelligentsia."

The draft of the new Soviet constitution very convincingly proves that the development of the socialist state, democracy and of the entire political system continues to deepen the humanistic substance of the socialist system.

"The progressiveness and genuine humanism of the socialist state, of the whole political system and of democracy are manifested not only in the intra-state life of the USSR and the other socialist countries, but they also have important international aspects. In building an advanced socialist society in the Soviet Union the working masses have demonstrated the invincibility of their living and creative strength in the struggle for progress and socialism."

Nations of the whole world have clearly recognized that the USSR's systematic struggle for peace and international cooperation, which began with the issuing of the decree on peace in 1917, and which continues to this very day, is the supreme manifestation of genuine democracy and humanism in mutual relations

in the international arena, that it is a struggle for mankind's most fundamental interests.

"The 25th CPSU Congress, among other things, defined new tasks in perfecting socialist statehood, in the further development of socialist democracy and in the consolidation of the legal foundation of the state and social life also in the sphere of the activation of the work of social organizations."

The congress also defined new tasks in perfecting the Soviet legislation and strengthening the socialist legal code.

These facts have been incorporated in the draft of the new Soviet constitution which is becoming a rich source of inspiration also for our state-legal scientific front. "It shows it the path as to ever more effectively helping the CPCZ in resolving questions concerning the further consolidation and development of the socialist state, political system and democracy in building an advanced socialist society in our fatherland."

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### AUERSPERG DENIES LEVELING OF SOCIALISM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 77 AU

[Article by Pavel Auersperg: "October Revolution--The Main Event of the 20th Century; The Socialist Community--A Fraternal Bond"]

[Summary] In the first third of the 20th century the Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new world epoch, an era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

V.I. Lenin masterfully succeeded in turning the dialectics of the class and the national, of the national and the international into the driving force of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialist society.

"Thanks to the Marxist-Leninist theory--consistent in asserting class and international procedures--one could enforce socialist social changes in the multinational Soviet Union, insuring an allround prosperity as well as individual upswing of all nations and nationalities. The remarkable results achieved in the socioeconomic and cultural development of all nations of the USSR tellingly demonstrated the indivisibility and the mutual interrelationship of the ideas of social and national equality in the process of the construction and maturation of the socialist society. The current efforts by bourgeois propaganda and other well-known endeavors to divide Marxism-Leninism into some sort of 'national and regional models' are being most convincingly refuted by the present-day life in the Soviet Union where an advanced socialist society has created from all the nations and nationalities living there a united socialist community--the unified Soviet people.

"If Soviet power were not consistent in asserting the generally valid class socialist principles, if it did not consistently bring into life the ideas of equal cooperation and mutual solidaristic assistance in relations among the nations of the USSR, if it allowed in the construction of socialism ideological and programmatic factionalism according to the various degrees of historical development and national individual characteristics, it would have inevitably broken down and decomposed earlier than her domestic and international enemies expected. It would not have victoriously stood such dif-

ficult tests as intervention, blockade and the tenacious efforts to internationally isolate Soviet power, or such tests as the life-and-death struggle waged by the nations of the Soviet union against Hitlerite fascism."

The establishment after 1945 of the world socialist community has been the direct continuation of the Great October's path.

"The growing international influence and the strength of the world community does not lead in individual countries to some sort of decreed unification or leveling of socialism. This in fact does not happen at all, and is either a product of anticommunist falsifications or an idea of dogmatic thinking detached from life." The main source of this growth is the continued development of the results achieved in building socialism, the utilization of the objective logic unique to this stage of socialist development and the creation of the necessary scope for gradually bridging the gaps between the socialist countries. The characteristic of the latter is that it takes place under conditions of the economic and cultural prosperity of every socialist country, and that it leads to ever closer relations in all spheres and to further prosperity of these countries. The internationalist legacy of Great October is being purposefully fulfilled in this process.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CARRILLO BOOK ON EUROCOMMUNISM CRITICIZED

Prague TVORBA in Czech 7 Sep 77 pp 3, 6-7

[Article by Jaroslav Korinek: "The Universal and Enduring Validity of the Fundamental Values of Socialism; Marginal Notes on Santiago Carrillo's Book 'Eurocommunism and the State'"]

[Text] The 60 years that have passed since the first victorious proletarian revolution embody the triumph of creative Marxism-Leninism in practice. The things that have been achieved by the Soviet Union in the 60 years of its existence clearly prove that socialism is the most progressive form of social organization. The Soviet people are setting an inspiring example for the working people of the entire world. The impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution is reflected most prominently in the existence and development of the countries belonging to the socialist community. All revolutionaries and everyone else who is interested in the genuine progress of mankind are rightfully filled with a sense of pride over the successful accomplishments of these countries. The revolutionary transformations which have been brought about by real socialism and the future which it offers--especially in terms of the growth of the individual, the satisfaction of his needs, and the increase in his creative powers--are truly magnificent. At the same time, this is an entirely realistic future, which will make all aspects of individual life even richer and more productive. An attractive image of a new society free of exploiters and based on the genuine freedom and democracy of the working people is also portrayed by the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR. The debate on the draft constitution which is now going on offers new testimony as to the advantages of the socialist system.

This bright present and the grand future of socialism stand in sharp contrast to the general crisis of the capitalist world. The gap that separates the ruling bourgeoisie from the people of the capitalist world is constantly widening. Sharper conflicts are emerging between imperialism and the national liberation movements, which feel a greater affinity for the socialist world and especially for the Soviet Union, in which the developing countries have a true and dependable friend. It is becoming more and more apparent that the world socialist community is the main motive force of the revolutionary process, the agent of genuine progress, humanism, democracy, and freedom.

These facts heighten the animosity felt by the forces of world reaction against Marxist-Leninist theory and the practical efforts dedicated to the construction of socialism and communism and especially against the Soviet Union, which has already succeeded in building an advanced socialist society. While, for example, last year's celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the independence of the United States symbolized the twilight of capitalism and its insurmountable crisis, the forthcoming 60th anniversary of October is, by way of contrast, expressive of the strength, prestige, and future of the ideals of socialism and their realization in practice. It stands to reason, then, that, on the one hand, this anniversary fills all the working people of the world with a justified sense of pride, while, on the other hand, it serves to increase the vexation of the enemies of socialism. Consequently, 1977 is also a year in which all of these enemies are mounting concentrated attacks against the scientific world view of the working class and against real socialism. This is also a period marked by increased anticommunism and antisovietism. Openly reactionary forces are joining together with the forces of opportunism, reformism, and revisionism. The forces of international imperialism are taking advantage of every opportunity to launch attacks against the revolutionary theory and practice of building socialism and communism. They are summoning up the most diverse means to serve this end, and no deception and no lie is too great for them to pass up. They welcome anyone--ranging from elements stripped of their class consciousness to outright social outcasts--anyone who is willing to help them in their dirty work.

#### Carrillo's Contribution to Anticommunism and Antisovietism

Today we are encountering more and more frequent attempts on the part of anticommunists to interfere in the internal affairs of individual communist parties and socialist countries under the guise of efforts "to improve and modernize" Marxist theory and practice. At the same time, the strategists of world capitalism are counting on the assistance of those forces and individuals who are active within the workers' movement and who might be able to appear as "authentic" experts on the situation in the socialist countries so as to make their attacks against socialism seem more credible.

This anticommunist and antisoviet campaign is also being augmented by the statements and actions of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain [PCE], Santiago Carrillo, which are expressed in a condensed form in his book "Eurocommunism and the State" (Eurocommunism as a suitable revolutionary model for the developed capitalist countries), which was recently published in Barcelona. As part of the essential theme of this book Carrillo reiterates the fundamental tenets of international revisionism, examines several anticommunist arguments, and reacts to certain developments, especially those which took place after the defeat of the counterrevolution in the CSSR in 1968. Carrillo declares himself to be a creative Marxist, and in order to minimize any potential criticism of revisionist views similar to his, he actually characterizes this creative approach as being a certain kind of "necessary" revisionism. What he means to say by

this is that he is a follower of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, even though he now considers their ideas to be outdated. And this is precisely the reason why his book and his whole approach is as dangerous as it is, namely, because, on the one hand, he professes to acknowledge the authority of the classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism, while, on the other hand, he in fact disavows their fundamental teachings. And he labels anyone who agrees with these teachings as a dogmatist with no respect for history and as someone who bases his view of the world on historically outdated conditions.

At several points in his book "Eurocommunism and the State" Carrillo develops ideas concerning the so-called European community, from which he previously explicitly excluded the socialist countries and especially the USSR. He comes to the revelation that "Eurocommunism" might exercise a decisive influence in favor of the creation of a "united Europe," which would make it possible, he believes, for Europe to play an independent role in a balance-of-power world, a world which today is still divided up into regional groupings. And, so, in effect he uses this term in order to make himself not feel bound by the obligations of class-oriented positions and, with the interests of the West European bourgeoisie in mind, in order to make his proposed model appear to be "pan-European," understandably with references to the "European tradition," European civilization, and so on. Of course, even from a geographic standpoint, he is guilty of misusing the term "European community." Or perhaps Europe does not include the Soviet Union, our own country and the several other socialist countries of the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and so on? By whom, when, and by what right were these countries excommunicated from the European continent?

In the name of describing certain new historical facts Carrillo does not develop Marxist philosophy, rather he in fact revises the key tenets of Marxism-Leninism, such as the Leninist principles of the leading role of the party, the relationship between economics and politics, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Carrillo considers proletarian and socialist internationalism to be obsolete. In its place he offers a new, "authentic" internationalism, which in reality amounts to an appeal for the "internationalization" of the proponents of nationalism and antisovietism.

Carrillo--and this is the most graphic demonstration of his "creative" approach--calls for "diverse models of socialism." Strangely enough, though, he does not try all that hard to justify the need for these diverse models or to describe what they are supposed to consist of. Essentially, he does not go beyond the statement that the point of all this is the pluralization of political life, which is supposed to be the cornerstone of freedom and democracy, in which connection he is quite content to define these key concepts in terms of ideas which are deeply imbedded in the historical experience of the bourgeois democracies. It is not enough for him merely to ignore the historical contribution of real socialism, rather he also goes on to utterly debase it. Carrillo is willing to acknowledge anything as being socialism that differs from or is directly opposed to scientific socialism. In this regard his tolerance knows no limits. But, on the other hand, he



is grossly intolerant of any positive comment in favor of real socialism, the construction of which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on their creative application and development. He behaves spitefully toward all of those who are true adherents of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. Everything they say is labelled in advance as an "apology for bureaucratism" and as a manifestation of "intellectual pedantry." He calls for debates with those whom he calls "wise minds," among whom he strictly numbers only those who happen to share his views.

#### The Distortion of Principles.

After reading the book "Eurocommunism and the State" it is possible for one to conclude that Carrillo underestimates the history-making, libertarian role of the working class and assigns a principal leading role to the intellectuals who represent the bourgeois concept of socialism. This is indicative of his failure to grasp the central issue of Marxism-Leninism, namely, the relationship between politics and economics. Carrillo himself proclaims that in matters of theory he is a "self-taught man," but this does not stop him from frivolously throwing out authoritative judgements on the fundamental issues of the state and democracy in a revisionist "Eurocommunist" spirit.

His superficial knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism prevents Carrillo from understanding that the development of society is subject to quite specific, objective, and universally and permanently valid general laws, including, among others, the laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The fact that these laws are carried out under diverse specific political and historical conditions, calling for creativity in their application and the ability to recognize specific requirements, does not under any circumstances justify their repudiation or revision. Every communist party, to the extent that it is guided by a truly scientific, dialectical-materialist world view, must know how to apply both universal and particular general laws under concrete historical conditions. To under-rate universal tasks in the name of specific tasks is always tantamount to falling under the sway of the views which are advanced by the forces of international reaction. Moreover, there is nothing coincidental about the fact that these forces enthusiastically welcome any expression of such nationally parochial views within our own movement. The basic interests of the popular masses are the same everywhere. They are determined by the socioeconomic position of the exploited working people, the common goals of the liberation struggle of the masses, and the universal nature of class, national, and social oppression regardless of geographic distinctions. Or is it perhaps true to say that imperialism is no longer international in nature? The more complex and the more difficult the struggle with imperialism becomes, the greater is the need for a united approach to the realization of the tenets of socialism and communism. The principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism are viable and universally binding.

The imperialists are trying at all costs to split the communist movement and, in particular, to drive a wedge between the fraternal parties of the capitalist and socialist countries. The international solidarity of the communist

parties is not in the least at variance with their independence or the need for ever greater cooperation between all anti-imperialist and democratic forces. It goes without saying that the communist parties of different countries are searching and will continue to search for new forms of struggle on behalf of socialism and that they will continue to promote and augment the richness of our ideological heritage. But, while it is one thing to promote and augment this rich heritage, it is something entirely different to debase, repudiate, or distort it, as is being done by revisionism, reformism, or petty bourgeois socialism.

In the book "Eurocommunism and the State" the achievements of the construction of socialism, especially in the Soviet Union, are denounced and disparaged. This is Carrillo's point of departure toward "proving" the unsuitability of the "model [of socialist construction] originating in underdeveloped societies." The author believes that it is not possible "to build full socialism in one country unless this system of government is also victorious in several of the developed countries." If we understand this properly, then, according to Carrillo, the Soviet Union will have to wait patiently for the advent of socialism in the contemporary capitalist countries, that is, until they adopt the ideas which he outlines in his book, before it can hope to achieve it.

However, we have heard all this before quite a long time ago and in nearly the same words from the Trotskyites. History has swept away all of the defeatist theories concerning the impossibility of building socialism in one country. The existence of the advanced socialist society which has been built in the USSR serves best to defeat the arguments of these theories based on slanderous presumptions as to the supposed backwardness of the Russian people. Obviously, the goal now is to obscure this reality.

If Carrillo were not a communist, we would have no reason to be disturbed by his antisoviet invective, since this is a common practice engaged in by various social democrats, revisionists, and opportunists. But Carrillo is the general secretary of the Central Committee of the PCE, which for 40 years waged a courageous struggle against fascism, a party which always looked with hope to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The Francoists geared their entire ideological apparatus toward antisovietism; they defamed and slandered the Soviet Union and the heroic Soviet people, which under the leadership of the CPSU built a socialist society at the cost of countless sacrifices and which, moreover, always lent a helping hand to all of those suffering under the oppression of imperialism. And, by the same token, is it not now a primary duty incumbent upon all of those who claim to support the ideals of communism to do everything in their power to stamp out all of the effects and consequences of this malicious and criminal propaganda fostered by the enemies of the Spanish people? Does the Soviet Union today in fact not set an example worthy of being imitated by countries fighting against all manner of reactionary forces on behalf of the true freedom of the working man, democracy, and peace?

It is not coincidental that Carrillo's position, as expressed in his latest book and in the several statements he has made via the bourgeois news media, is meeting with justified criticism. For example, Santiago Carrillo and other people holding similar views were the targets of the following comments made by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica, Manuel Mora Velverda, in the party organ LIBERTAD: "The Soviet Union, which is the leader of the socialist world, is a bastion which was created by history and which has made it possible for the peoples and continents of the world threatened by imperialism to win victory, peace, and freedom....In my opinion, it will be very difficult for the European communist parties to carry out their revolutions if the socialist world is weakened and imperialism is strengthened. It is therefore a profound mistake to diminish the prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the eyes of other nations."

Developments in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which are in many ways misrepresented by Carrillo and described in a manner that contradicts reality and historical truth, also did not escape the "attention" of the author of "Eurocommunism and the State."

Consequently, we also want to comment on certain questions that relate to our own country.

#### Misplaced Regrets

In his book "Eurocommunism and the State" the author also refers to the experiences of the "Czechoslovak experiment," which he extolls and over which he expresses regrets that it was not fully completed. What in fact does he praise, and what in fact is the object of his admiration?

As is well known, this "experiment" took place primarily during 1968. This was a time in which [our] principles and values were subjected to relentless tests. While during the period after January 1968 those communists and other progressive citizens who were devoted to internationalist principles strove to rectify errors and shortcomings, rightist forces, guided by demagogic slogans calling for the "improvement" of socialism, threw the door wide open to the prospect of counterrevolution. Reactionary elements longing to gain revenge for their defeat in 1948 pushed their way to the forefront. A counterrevolution usually does not commence with the lining up of communards before firing squads along graveyard walls. The savagery of counterrevolution is not fully unleashed until the reactionary forces gain control over at least a portion of the political power. This is always preceded by ideological preparations, efforts aimed at causing ideological dissension, and attempts to foster confusion and chaos among the people. Likewise, the reactionary forces do not always make their ultimate goals immediately known, and they do not behave in a way that openly shows what their demagogic arsenal is aimed at. It is hard to expect that they would come completely out into the open with their antipopular program.

As is well known, the forces of counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia fought against the socialist system on the pretext of supporting national revival and democratization. At the same time they persecuted anyone who supported the principles of Marxism-Leninism and alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. The proponents of this counterrevolution, as they themselves said of their own accord, could hardly wait to see communists hanging from the lamp posts. Is Carrillo perhaps sorry that this experiment was not brought to its conclusion in Czechoslovakia? Or is he perhaps unaware of these facts? Has he never heard of the counterrevolutionary platform "2000 Words," which openly called for violence to achieve its aims? Does he know nothing of the various actions undertaken by the enlightened leaders of the "Prague Spring," or has he consciously overlooked them? What for example, was "democratic" about the so-called Memorandum of the Czechoslovak People, which was drafted by the organizational committee of the Czech Socialist Justic Party and in which it is stated: "The laws which we pass must ban all communist activities in Czechoslovakia. We will ban and dissolve the CPCZ....We will burn the books of the communist ideologues Marx, Engels, and Lenin!"

Santiago Carrillo is a Spaniard. Do not these words sound familiar to him? Do they not explicitly and implicitly echo the statements of one of generalissimo Franco's closest collaborators, i.e., the president of the "Junta tecnica," which was Franco's first Ministry of the Interior, general Millan Astraya? In 1936, shortly after the outbreak of the fascist uprising against the Spanish Republic, this general made the following statement at a ceremony marking a national holiday for Spanish-speaking peoples at the University of Salamanca: "We will exterminate all communists and democrats, and we will shoot all Basques and Catalans. Long live death!" In any event, this verdict was also protested by a man who had absolutely nothing to do with communism, i.e., the Spanish writer and philosopher, Miguel de Unamuno....

Santiago Carrillo avoids mentioning any of these circumstances in his book. Our communist party drew the proper conclusions from the so-called Czechoslovak experiment. The document "Lessons From the Crisis in the Party and Society Following the 13th Congress of the CPCZ" contains adequate evidence as to the fact that the rightist opportunists were working "in line with the goals of modern imperialism," that "they favored the use of methods characterized by political, ideological, and violent destruction and the gradual realization of counterrevolutionary goals in the long run," and that in 1968 our country witnessed a counterrevolutionary attempt to restore Czechoslovakia to the bondage of imperialism and thereby to inflict major harm on the entire socialist community and the international communist movement. These facts are obviously of no interest to Santiago Carrillo. He displays a correspondingly greater interest in the dubious "models" of democratic socialism, and he willingly reproduces in his book all of the views that were urged upon our people by the rightist forces during the crisis years 1968-1969.

Let us recall, at least in an abbreviated form, what kinds of "models" were being offered up at that time. They consisted primarily of the most diverse

kinds of socialism with the most diverse kinds of "faces," but they all held one condition in common, namely, that they would be directed against Leninism and its universally valid principles. The question might then be asked: what was there about Leninism that bothered the erstwhile "authors" of the so-called Czechoslovak experiment? As far as the political system is concerned, they were bothered most by the fact that the socialist political system led by the working class and its party guarantees that all aspects of political power will be vested in the people and prohibits the restoration of bourgeois democracy. In the economic field they were upset over the fact that, unlike Sik's much vaunted "market economy," emphasis is placed on the inviolability of socialist social ownership and the practical implementation of one of socialism's greatest advantages--the central planning and management of national economic growth. In the ideological field their elitist, petty bourgeois concept of culture and the arts was obstructed and they were most disturbed by the Leninist precepts which guarantee the consistent application of the dialectical-materialist world view of the working class.

In contrast to the Leninist concept of the construction of a socialist society, which has been validated by practical experience, the rightist opportunists offered a hodge-podge of the most diverse non-Marxist, petty bourgeois ideas, and they brazenly proclaimed "Czechoslovak democratic socialism" to be a valid model for the entire world. For example, in a letter addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee and dated 24 January 1968 the party group of the Czechoslovak Writers Union wrote the following: "Something entirely new is beginning in this country, something which may in fact be called enlightened socialism." Dubcek himself boasted that for the first time in the history of the world we are embarking on the construction of "true socialism."

But this bubble quickly burst. The so-called "model for a new socialism" discredited itself, since the attempt to put it into practice culminated in the counterrevolution that jeopardized everything that had been achieved by socialism in its sacrifice-laden struggle against capitalism. In order to head off a bloody tragedy and at the request of those persons who were aware of their class, national, and international responsibility for the fate of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the fraternal countries provided us with international assistance, which in his book "Eurocommunism and the State" Carrillo, in complete contrast to the objective conclusions arrived at by our party, conclusions which were made on the basis of a thorough analysis of the causes of the crisis situation in the party and society, labels as an "occupation" and even as "a final turning point in the PCE's drive to achieve independence."

Again and again we are able to persuade ourselves of the fact that the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia would have made arrangements for a bloody massacre on a similar scale to that which was so effectively organized in Chile, provided, of course, that the international assistance of our closest socialist allies had not arrived in time. A victorious counterrevolution would have spelled the defeat of the power of the working class and the working people in our country. And this would have had terrible consequences not only for our own people, but also for the cause of peace in Europe.

## The Facts Will Inevitably Speak For Themselves

Carrillo claims to be an expert on conditions in Czechoslovakia, and on some questions his views differ from those held by our party. In his book "Spain After Franco" (a wide-ranging interview with Regis Debray published in book form in 1974) Carrillo notes that he was informed about developments in Czechoslovakia by Spanish emigres living in this country. When asked by Regis Debray what he thought the attempt to change the system in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was all about, Carrillo followed up a few empty phrases about democratization with this statement: "But if you ask me how they meant to go about this, then I can't tell you, since they themselves did not have enough time to work on it."

Yes, Santiago Carrillo possesses only a very superficial knowledge of the real situation in Czechoslovakia. But this does not stop him from unequivocally renouncing the efforts which eliminated the causes and consequences of the upheaval brought about by the rightist forces, the revisionists, and the domestic and foreign reactionary forces.

In this respect too, however, he has come dangerously close to anticommunism. That is to say, as long as imperialism saw that there was a chance to overthrow socialism in Czechoslovakia, it was unstinting in its praise of our country. But when these hopes had to be laid to rest, Czechoslovakia was placed in the pillory. At the 15th Congress of the CPCZ the following statement was made in reference to the anticommunist campaign directed against us: "They attack us because we are building socialism on Leninist principles, a socialism which in our experience embodies everything that is noble, progressive, and humane."

It cannot be said that Santiago Carrillo has made it a practice to live by his own words written in the book "Eurocommunism and the State." In this book he says: "But what we have in mind is serious criticism, not lies." And at the same time he says: "Since through its affiliation with the Soviet Union it has not found a substitute for its affiliation with capitalism..., Czechoslovakia has therefore also not achieved the same degree of economic prosperity as the capitalist countries, whose level of economic development in 1936 was the same as Czechoslovakia's."

Where did Carrillo get his information about our economic status before and after the revolution? What induced him to turn generally known facts inside out and to say something that has nothing at all in common with the truth? Everything that has happened since the end of World War II has confirmed the correctness of the decision by which Czechoslovakia, in keeping with the policy line on the construction of socialism established by the 9th Congress of the CPCZ, embarked on the road leading to the building of socialism in close alliance with the Soviet Union. The 30 years of experience we have gained in all areas of our social life entitle us to say that this was the only way, however much it may have been accompanied by difficulties and mistakes, that could have brought our country to its present prosperity and

afforded our people genuine social and national freedom. This was the only way to put an end to our economic and political dependence on imperialism. Our economy is enjoying a high growth rate and providing our working people with employment, opportunities to apply their creative powers, and a constantly growing standard of living. Cultural and educational opportunities are open to everyone. We can point to the considerable successes we have achieved in all areas, such as, for example, the elimination of differences between agricultural and industrial districts in our republic and between urban and rural areas. Today there are no major differences between formerly backward Slovakia and the Czech lands. The nationalities question has been completely resolved in the CSSR. I make special mention of this issue, because it is one of the most important issues of our time. And its resolution is indicative of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. Our two nations enjoy equal rights and live in harmony in a common fatherland. The implementation of the Leninist principle of federal territorial-political organization has opened up new and far-reaching opportunities for the further development of and establishment of closer relations between our two socialist nations.

As for Carrillo, who aspires to endow mankind with a "prototype of a new political structure," as he says in his book, he might at least be aware of the universally recognized fact that socialist Czechoslovakia is indeed one of the most industrially advanced countries in the world. Expressed in terms of per capita units of output, Czechoslovakia today produces four times as much as the world average, while during the pre-war years industrial output per capita in this country was only twice as great as the then world average. Today it takes our industry less than a month and a half to produce roughly as much as was produced during the entire year of 1937. And as long as Carrillo is making comparisons between capitalist and socialist Czechoslovakia, he also should not overlook the enormous changes that have taken place in this country in the agricultural sector. This is an area which Spain most certainly cannot afford to overlook. Socialist cooperative agricultural production on a large scale has changed the quality of life in our countryside. Not only has it served to eliminate the day-to-day drudgery and backwardness of rural life, but it has also turned agriculture into a branch of the national economy in which the latest discoveries of science and technology are applied on a broad scale. Our socialist agriculture can be relied upon to meet all the nutritional needs of our people, whereas under capitalism the satisfaction of these basic needs was to a considerable degree subject to the arbitrary discretion of the imperialist monopolies.

Socialism has developed a political system which guarantees the genuine participation of the working people in government. This is a system based on true democratism and humanism. Our party has never tried to hide the fact that, when it is evaluated in a practical light, this system is not without its faults. At all party congresses, at all sessions of the Central Committee and of regional and district committees, and at all membership meetings of basic party organizations there is open discussion both about positive achievements and about weak points in the fulfillment of tasks, about the

need to constantly improve the performance of all activities engaged in by national administrative and business management organs, and about the need to improve the work of all persons in positions of responsibility, including both communists and noncommunists. Constant attention is devoted to the advancement of socialist democracy. In this regard an important role is played by the socialist state, which is the principal instrument used to marshal all creative forces in the interest of providing for the welfare of the working man and the defense of our revolutionary achievements. In order to fulfill this requirement it is also necessary to teach people to develop good socialist work habits, a high degree of civic-mindedness, and a sense of social responsibility. The promotion of socialist democracy is predicated upon the cultivation in people of a sense of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and solidarity with working people who still suffer under the dominion of imperialism.

We do not expect our enemies to approve of what we do. But we are perturbed by the lack of understanding on the part of people who cast aspersions on and misrepresent our efforts and still pretend that they are our friends. In order to reinforce the "credibility of Eurocommunism" Santiago Carrillo also resorted to using the entire panoply of arguments originally advanced by the bankrupt forces of the Czechoslovak counterrevolution. By so doing he has done nothing to help the cause of the Spanish communists or the international revolutionary workers movement, and he has established a very unattractive reputation for himself personally.

The entire international revolutionary workers movement and all progressive mankind will soon be celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The everlasting significance of this revolution consists in the fact that it was the first victorious revolution in the history of the world that was carried out as a result of the fact that a communist party, built up and led by V. I. Lenin, had gained a complete understanding of the universally valid laws of socialist revolution and applied them in practice in a masterful fashion. The experience gained in the struggles for socialism in individual countries confirms the universal validity of Leninism. It is a historic task to further develop the tenets of Leninism and to prevent the blurring of the distinction between the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. In his speech before the conference of communist and workers parties in Berlin, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, comrade Gustav Husak, made the following statement: "The class enemy is expending a great deal of energy and resources in order to weaken us, in order to isolate individual parties from each other and scatter our forces, and in order to breakdown and completely disrupt the unity of our fundamental class interests and goals." He also stressed that international solidarity and unity, as an inexhaustible source of strength and action-readiness on the part of individual communist and workers parties and the international revolutionary workers movement as a whole, is proving to be more important now than ever before in the past...Herein lies the guarantee that the world will continue to evolve along progressive lines.

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CSO: 2400



## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

SED'S INFLUENCE ON TEACHERS--According to Lothar Oppermann, chief of the SED Central Committee's education department, the SED intends to intensify further its political-ideological influence on GDR teachers. He called upon the school party organizations to engage the pedagogues in a "continuous discussion on the basic problems of our time." He stated that the "aggressive propagandizing of the ideas of socialism and of the superiority of its system and way of life", as well as the argumentation with bourgeois ideology, especially with anticommunism, are essential prerequisites for "strengthening the consciousness" of the teacher and educator. Oppermann said that the school party leadership should concern itself with how the political and ideological content of the work can be further intensified and how teachers can be better versed in the political goals of the party. The responsible leaders should endeavor to improve the coordination of meetings, avoid overlapping of subject matter, and react positively to the questions and problems in the teachers' collective. In this connection, Oppermann admitted that, despite the very intensive influence of the SED on the teachers, there have been "problems and obstacles" in the ideological training of the pedagogues. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 172, 8 Sep 77 p 3]

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## HUNGARY

### IMPLICATIONS OF HUNGARIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP CONSIDERED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9, Sep 77 pp 3-12

[Article by Imre Gyori, secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP:  
"Our Internationalist Friendship Based on Principled Foundations"]

[Excerpt] In our day we attribute special significance to regular bilateral and multilateral exchanges of opinion, to a further development through joint efforts of the Marxist-Leninist theory which constitutes the foundation of our movement, to our ideological cooperation and to a generalization of experiences.

Harmonizing our positions makes it possible for us to work more effectively for our common goals. This practice does not decrease the independence of our homeland, the independence of our policy--including our foreign policy. Indeed! It increases the strength and importance of our countries and the effectiveness of our efforts if we strive to harmonize our positions and are able to act unitedly in international life. This method of harmonizing positions means a further development of our common theory and policy, making them more substantial, learning of and analyzing the experiences of each other and using them as needed. New types of contacts are expressed in our harmonized action, contacts which are possible only among countries building socialism--not intervening in each other's internal affairs, respecting each other's independence, extending mutual aid in warding off hostile political, economic and military pressure. The fact that these principles are realized in our cooperation has an effect on the system of international contacts and exercises a positive influence and attraction on the progressive forces of states struggling for their national independence.

We regard it as an essential element of proletarian internationalism that the fraternal parties study, take into consideration and use in their work the experiences of the international communist and labor movement while at the same time enriching the ideological treasury of Marxism-Leninism by exploiting the experiences acquired in their own struggle and activity.

A creative application of the experiences of the international communist movement and of the socialist countries aids the struggle of revolutionary forces in every country. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party builds on its own historical experiences but it also makes use of lessons learned by fraternal parties, has studied and learns from every revolutionary force. "Of special significance for us," Comrade Janos Kadar wrote in the January issue of BEKE ES SZOCIALIZMUS this year, "is the rich theoretical and practical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by Lenin, the pioneering and exemplary development of the world's first socialist country. The world revolutionary forces have always drawn from the never obsolete lessons of the historic path of the Soviet Union, celebrating the 60th anniversary of its existence this year, and so it will be in the future also."

The theoretical and practical experiences of the Soviet Union are indispensable for us and are extraordinarily valuable. Recognizing this, however, does not mean a mechanical copying of Soviet experiences thus decreasing our own responsibility in the revolutionary struggle. Recognizing and acknowledging the role which the Soviet Union has played for 60 years and is still playing in the world does not contradict the fact that every party has a revolutionary responsibility to work out and realize a policy best suited to the conditions of its country. To the same extent that it proved incorrect to copy Soviet experiences mechanically in an earlier stage of our development so it would also be incorrect and a mistake to belittle or neglect them.

The social changes of the past 6 decades--the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the formation and development of the socialist world system and the advance of the international revolutionary movements--have enriched the content of internationalism. Proletarian internationalism has developed further in the cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries as an entirely new type of contact among states. All this expands the possibilities for the realization of national independence and democratic freedoms, for the mutual collaboration of forces struggling for social progress, for their supporting one another. In addition, the process of enriching the content of proletarian internationalism and of broadening its effective sphere has led to a situation where today proletarian internationalism is not only the theoretical-political foundation for cooperation among the worker classes of various countries, among revolutionary labor parties, but rather and at the same time it exercises a significant effect on other forces for social progress, on the unity of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism. The union of the communist parties, of the communist world movement, is a determining factor for this unity.

The socialist countries and the various detachments of the communist movement carry out their work and struggle for the realization of common ideals and goals amidst national frameworks, differing circumstances and

unique conditions. It is their national and at the same time their internationalist responsibility to strengthen the positions of socialism, of progress, in their own homelands. The achievements and successes of the socialist countries strengthen peace and democracy and augment the strength of socialism and the base of those fighting for social progress. Thus we are doing everything so that the goal followed in the socialist countries--the victory of socialism, of communism--should be realistic and achievable for the peoples of countries which are still capitalist too. At the same time every success won by our fraternal parties struggling amidst capitalist circumstances aids the cause of those on the path of socialism. All these things are the real values of internationalism.

The Soviet people and party never narrowed down the concept and role of internationalism to solving the tasks of socialist and communist construction in their country alone. Going beyond the fact that a decisive effect is exercised on the course of the revolutionary process by a strengthening of the Soviet system and by its own achievements, they have undertaken and still undertake sacrifices going well beyond that to ensure the peace of the peoples and to aid social progress. In this also we see the practical realization of internationalism.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation has a significant role in the development of Hungarian-Soviet contacts. The number one economic partner of the Hungarian people's economy is the Soviet Union with which we conduct one third of our foreign trade. Going beyond the economic significance of the development of our economic and scientific-technical contacts they also merit special attention because it is here that the qualitative changes accompanying the development of our cooperation are most tangible.

The rate of development in Hungarian-Soviet trade has increased in the past 10 years to 10-12 percent per year from 8-9 percent per year earlier. At the same time the composition of trade has changed too. The share of products processed at a higher level and requiring a higher technical culture--machines, equipment, subassemblies--is increasing mutually.

Bilateral specialization and long term agreements are important tools for modernizing the Hungarian economic structure. Specialization and the large Soviet orders have provided the foundations for concentrated development and for domestic industrial branches working in a most modern and most economical fashion and make it possible for us to maintain an internationally competitive position today. Thanks to the economic integration between our countries the spirit of comradely cooperation has strengthened and the decision, preparation and execution times for complex, large scale programs have shortened. Scientific-technical cooperation between our countries has become more effective.

CEMA cannot isolate itself from external effects, from the explosive changes in exchange rates on the capitalist world market, but it can transmit them

in a more regulated form. The changes in exchange rates which took place on the world market showed that the community of socialist countries, in the spirit of internationalism, was capable of finding acceptable and mutually advantageous solutions even in extraordinary situations, capable of moderating the harmful effect of phenomena occurring in the capitalist world economy in a spontaneous manner and with overwhelming force.

In addition to political and economic cooperation, contacts between Hungarian and Soviet cultural life have also developed and are developing on the basis of the principles of internationalism. In this also solid foundations are ensured by the identity of our social systems and by our common worldview, Marxism-Leninism.

During the decades of the counter-revolutionary system the Hungarian workers participating in the labor movement, the working people and progressive intellectuals awaited with great interest and sympathy any news which could reach our homeland from the Soviet Union about the achievements of economic and cultural construction. Since 1917, Hungarian writers, artists and scientists committed to the cause of social progress and socialism have turned with great attention and sympathy toward the creations of Soviet culture. But the path of Soviet culture to our homeland could become free and without obstacles only following the liberation.

Getting acquainted with the outstanding creations of Soviet culture and the achievements of Soviet sciences and the cultural and scientific cooperation which is developing on an ever greater scale have contributed significantly to the fact that our homeland, starting on the road of socialism, is progressing successfully in the unfolding of the socialist cultural revolution too.

The broad masses of Hungarian society have become acquainted with the works of Soviet writers, graphic artists and film artists, could see and listen to Soviet musical and theatrical productions. A lively and many sided picture of Soviet culture is alive in our society today and our cultural institutions are ensuring that new works are continually and quickly at the disposal of the interested Hungarian public.

These contacts made it possible, before all else, that the values of our national culture could break out of their isolation and enter the current of progressive international culture. Hungarian artistic works found a friendly reception and understanding attention in the Soviet Union; in the past 3 decades alone works by Hungarian artists have appeared in about 30 million copies. Our films also arouse great interest.

Contact with Soviet scientific life and cooperation between Hungarian and Soviet institutions, which is developing into research cooperation in more and more areas, give great aid to Hungarian scientists in keeping up with professional developments and joining effectively in international

scientific life. It is also a significant achievement of Hungarian-Soviet contacts that during 3 decades more than 4,000 young Hungarian intellectuals graduated from Soviet universities.

Cooperation between scientific academies and institutes, the bilateral and multilateral cultural agreements, the mutually organized cultural days, the appearances of theater societies and associations, the program exchanges and joint programs of radio and television, the contacts between sister megyes and towns and the various professional and friendly meetings tie with thousands and thousands of threads the bonds of Hungarian and Soviet culture ever more closely together. And what is most important, these contacts greatly aid Soviet and Hungarian people to know one another, to find in one another friends and comrades, to learn in a mutual way of the achievements and problems of socialist construction. Cultivating and developing our cultural contacts well serves a strengthening of friendship between our peoples and internationalist contacts between our countries.

On the basis of the substantive and essential identity of our policy and our ideology we are working jointly on a further development of the worldview, theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Similar or even common elements increase in the course of socialist construction; building a developed socialist society requires the realization of similar processes in the development of social relationships and in the formation of our international relations. Thus a common examination of social phenomena and a mutual exploitation of experiences become ever more possible and necessary and giving more profound answers to the basic questions of socialist construction, to its theoretical processes, is ever more necessary. In past years also this put the development of scientific-ideological cooperation into the foreground. Making this more effective could give a stimulus to our cooperation as a whole. Our party is turning special attention to the development of scientific, cultural and ideological contacts. It is felt that these are not only complements to but rather and at the same time foundations for cooperation in other areas.

The Hungarian people are working effectively and with an awareness of purpose on the construction of a developed socialist society. They look toward the future with assurance. Their strength is enhanced by the fact that their friend and ally is the Soviet people, the first socialist state of the world, the Soviet Union. In the course of our history the Hungarian exploiting ruling classes have hitched the wagon of the country to various allies and alliance systems. In the majority of cases these alliance systems were tools of social reaction and most often they threw our homeland to the winds of destruction. Only turning onto the path of socialism and the alliance with the Soviet Union could lead our homeland into the camp of progress. Our people well know that all which we have accomplished since the liberation--the success and achievements of socialist construction, the international respect for our party and state, our modest but active participation in international political life--cannot be separated from Hungarian-

Soviet friendship and alliance, from the internationalist solidarity with the socialist countries and with the international communist movement.

The recognition of this--the sincere affection and internationalist feelings of Hungarian society--are expressed in that respect and love which our workers are expressing now, on the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in many forms, not least of all in the magnificent work successes following the Csepel appeal.

The conviction of our entire people is expressed in the program statement adopted at the 11th Congress of our party: "The unbreakable friendship and alliance of our homeland and the Soviet Union, building communism, and the many-sided development of internationalist contacts between the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are of outstanding significance. The Soviet Union and the CPSU play a world historical role, assuming the greatest responsibility and burdens in the struggle being waged for universal human progress, peace and development of the socialist world. Its experiences are of theoretical significance in building the new society and its aid is irreplaceable." For us friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is the pledge of national advancement and faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism, to socialism, peace, the cause of the liberation of the peoples and to the struggle against imperialism.

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CSO: 2500

AMBULANCE DRIVERS ORDERED TO SAVE GAS RATHER THAN LIVES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 17 Sep 77 p 16

[Interview by Istvan Nemere: "Two Deciliters of Gasoline"]

[Excerpts] "Since most of my previous colleagues still wear the uniform of the National Ambulance Service, I cannot use their full names. I joined the service in 1973 and became aware of the situation almost at once: We were summoned to an accident in the town of 'D,' a distance of 15 kilometers. Had we turned on our siren and lit the roof light, we should have arrived within 8 minutes; actually, we made it in 16. On another occasion a child fell from the second story of a house at the other end of town. Our destination was a 1-minute drive by day, 2 minutes by night. We arrived in 5 minutes. By then the frantic parents had taken the child to the hospital in a passenger car. It died half an hour later due to unprofessional handling during transport.

"That was when I asked my colleagues why they drove so slowly. They acted queer and refused to answer. At a subsequent work conference attended by the county chief physician, the treasurer and the technical manager the latter addressed the drivers: 'Comrades, the cars are still using too much gasoline; if this continues, we'll fall behind in the 19-county competition to conserve fuel. You must economize, economize.' I gasped; now I understood everything.

"The National Ambulance Service has existed in its present form since 1948. It employs about 5,000 persons at 160 stations situated 15-50 kilometers apart. Drivers must work 12-hour shifts followed by 12-24 hours off. In some places this practice has not yet been adopted for the attendants who frequently work 24 hours at one stretch. There are great disparities between the equipment of Budapest and provincial ambulances and stations in favor of the former. According to the drivers, the Polish NYSA 521 and 522 cars which have been issued to the ambulance service are unsatisfactory as cross-country vehicles. Rain plus hilly terrain is an insuperable obstacle to them. In such cases ambulance personnel must fetch the patient on foot.



"As recently as 1973, the authorities required the ambulances to use less than 14 liters of gas [per 100 kilometers]. In 1976, personnel of stations where consumption exceeded 13 liters per 100 kilometers either received no premium or a minimal one. Drivers were made to feel on every hand that this was due to excessive fuel consumption. An effort was made to reduce the norm still further in 1977. This can be achieved only through reducing the fuel intake of the ambulances. Such cars can seldom go faster than 70-80 kilometers per hour. Furthermore, the life of the motor is shortened. Nevertheless, it frequently happens that the ambulance service fails to scrap vehicles which have run 120,000 kilometers but keeps them in operation for another 10,000-20,000 kilometers.

"One driver stated: 'In 1971-1972 we were the first among the counties in the fuel conservation competition. Later it became evident that the cars would simply not operate with less fuel. Yet the demand was to continue to reduce consumption or we would lose the lead in the competition. We were given hardly any bonuses. Bonuses and premiums are part of the pay here, because we can do no private work like other chauffeurs. We got together and began buying gas at our own expense. We had 10-11 liters put in at each fill-up which we did not include in our records. On paper this appeared to be very low gas consumption, but evidently other counties got wise to our system, because we lost our lead in the competition. Still it was worthwhile, because we were awarded 1,000 or more forints several times a year, so our expenditures were recovered in full. The service was rewarding us for our manipulations.'

"Newborn premature twins had to be delivered to the hospital. The ambulance incubator broke down en route. Its temperature and that of the twins fell precipitately. The only possible remedy was to get the babies to the hospital with all possible speed. Yet the driver was going only 70 and sometimes less although he did use his siren. The 60-kilometer drive took exactly 1 hour. Temperature in the incubator had dropped to 26 degrees by the time we arrived. The next day I tendered my resignation. I stayed on the job for another 4 weeks. During that time, not a single one of my supervisors asked why I was leaving. If they had, I would have quoted a paragraph from the National Ambulance Service regulations: 'If the employee becomes aware of an act or oversight which, in his opinion, is contrary to the interest of the state, the society, the service or the patient being transported, he must prevent this...' Yes, I consider the order of the above listing worthy of note, too: first the service, then the patient."

CSO: 2500

POLAND

BABIUCH DISCUSSES PZPR PERSONNEL POLICY, ROLE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 6, Jun 77 pp 5-15

[Excerpts from address by Edward Babiuch, PZPR Central Committee secretary:  
"The Party of the Working Class, Party of the Whole Nation"]

[Text] A meeting of secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of the socialist countries was held in Warsaw 11-13 May of this year to take up problems of interparty work. We are publishing extensive excerpts of an address which Edward Babiuch, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and member of the Politburo, delivered to the meeting.

During the past few years the PZPR has achieved further significant progress in improving the content and forms of its activity, in stepping up its ideological and political influence on our society, and in organizing its efforts. This is based on a policy the essence of which is determined by the socioeconomic strategy which the Sixth Party Congress established in 1971 and expanded upon at the Seventh Party Congress in 1975. This strategy combines dynamic economic development with consistent implementation of socialist social goals, bolsters motivation for productive work, and helps shape socialist attitudes and patriotic unity among all working people.

In carrying out the line of the Sixth Party Congress, we have substantially accelerated the country's development, we have improved the society's living conditions, and we have raised the level of its culture. Because of this it was possible for us at the Seventh Party Congress to set the goal of building an advanced socialist society and to put forth the slogan of achieving higher quality of work and living conditions for the nation.

We have not always managed to avoid problems in the course of the successful implementation of the socioeconomic strategy of the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses. Last year they tended to accumulate. This was related mainly to lower crop yields in agriculture over a period of several years and the adverse effects of inflation in the capitalist countries along with the difficulties stemming therefrom for our trade with these countries. This makes it necessary to seek suitable solutions to complex problems and to make decisions in keeping with the changing conditions. We correct our

policy as needed in this area or any other. We are careful to see that these matters are well known to activists and the whole party, that they are correctly understood, and that on this basis they are effectively resolved. We take into account the experience of practice, and we hold consultations with broad groups of party activists and the society on proposals made and our position. In this way we have prepared the resolutions of the Fifth and Sixth Party Plenums of the Central Committee aimed at correcting plans and economic tasks in keeping with the existing internal and external conditions, in order to insure the consistent realization of the directional guidelines of the Seventh Party Congress. We intend to devote a plenary session of the Central Committee this autumn to an evaluation of how these guidelines have been implemented. This will be of key importance to the proper preparations for the Second National Party Conference.

The party is not a questioned leader of the nation or a power which programs and organizes the society. The party's leadership role is recognized by the political parties operating in our country and also by the social organizations which are part of the Front for National Unity. The PZPR's leading role was sanctioned in the constitution within the framework of the changes which we accomplished in 1976. Therefore, the development, strengthening, and quality of the work of the party are not an exclusively internal matter. In it there is a vitally interested nation which the party leads, the working class, which the party completely identifies with in its ideology and in the composition of its rank and file.

The organizational structure of the party consists of 72,000 fundamental party organizations, 2,300 parish [gmina], town, and city district organizations, and 49 voivodship organizations. We have within our ranks the most aware, most active, and most involved part of the Polish nation. We represent a political and social force with great dynamism, mobility, and capability of action, a force present in all social groups, an inseparable unified ideological bond with the working class and all working people. We base our policy on the trust and support of the nation and build on them. We are constantly careful to see that the efficiency and effectiveness of party action is based on the increasingly more profound conscious commitment of party members to the implementation of its policy, on growing skill in practical application of the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, and on the deepening of intraparty democracy and the attainment of an ever higher level of party discipline.

We attach fundamental importance to the condition and high quality of the party rank and file. The 16th [sic] Central Committee plenum in January 1975 and the 7th plenum this April gave a particularly great deal of attention to this matter. Plenary meetings of local party echelons also regularly review the status of party strength, its distribution, and the implementation of the policy of accepting applicants for membership.

The party has considerable untapped reserves. They consist of the great numbers of people who distinguish themselves by their model attitudes in their jobs and take an active part in social activity, including the

exceptionally great numbers of young people who have recently been coming of age and entering into their productive years. In our particular situation there is no dilemma between the factors of quantity and quality in the development of the party ranks. We have set ourselves on a dynamic policy of accepting people into the party along with a simultaneous concern to see that newcomers meet increasingly higher requirements.

In intraparty work we follow the Leninist principle that in order to insure high quality among the rank and file and proper class composition, the party's development should be regulated in a planned fashion, so that spontaneous, uncontrolled development will not occur in this or other areas of party work.

We have decidedly come away from concepts like "recruiting" or "gathering" people for the party. We presently prepare and win over for the party those people who are leaders in their groups and bodies in terms of political commitment, socialist awareness, contribution to their jobs and social work, and moral attitude, people who inspire respect where they live and work.

The second directional guideline of the policy of accepting people for membership is the concern for maintaining and bolstering the party's working class nature. The attention of party organizations and echelons is also focusing on rural areas, owing to the current and long-range needs of party policy in agriculture. We are also attaching great significance to winning young people over to the party, especially young workers, farmers, and college students.

A third directional guideline is aimed at bolstering our work on the development of our ranks in those groups and centers of social life in which the party's forces are relatively weak, that is, for example, among certain groups of the artistic and professional intelligentsia.

As the result of such a policy of acceptance into the party, each year the party is enriched by tens of thousands of the most active leading working people devoted to the cause of socialism, mainly workers. From 1972 to 1975 the number of party members increased by 8 percent, and the number of workers in the party by 14 percent.

Expulsions from the party for behavior contrary to its by-laws and principles of internal life are now relatively rare. Our organizations set high moral-ideological requirements for their members. The fact that it is not very often that they must resort to organizational penalties is the result of a higher level of work in moral training as well as deliberation and sensitive watchfulness in the process of accepting people into the party.

On the other hand, we drop far more people from the party in connection with an inadequate level of activity or because the party member himself recognizes that he cannot meet the rising requirements and asks to be removed from the party rolls. We make it possible for these party members to drop

their party affiliation amicably and see to it that in the groups in which they move they continue to be party allies and sympathizers. Of course, we consider party resignations to be a loss as a definite indoctrinational failure. We make a detailed analysis of the particular reasons underlying workers' and farmers' resignations from the party. From it we draw conclusions for improving the work of the fundamental party organizations.

We try to insure high criteria for party membership through requirements and principles of organizing acceptance into the party. The increasingly more severe and penetrating evaluations made during the period of candidature were the reason why in 1976, for example, the party did not accept more than 11,000 candidates for membership.

Becoming more and more a party of the nation, the PZPR is maintaining its class-oriented, working-class nature.

In striving to bolster the working-class nucleus of the party, we also take into account important ideological circumstances and conclusions stemming from current changes taking place in the structure of Polish society. They are characterized by the dynamic growth of the working class, a decline in the proportion represented by the agricultural population, and an increase in the number of people belonging to the intelligentsia. These are after all important trends which will have a bearing on the direction of changes in the social structure of all the socialist countries.

Workers and members of their families presently make up more than half of the population of the country. The working class is creating a substantial proportion of national income, is a joint participant in creating technical and production progress, and is also the social group most interested in the socialist trend of changes and in combatting conservatism. The increase in the numerical strength and significance of the working class is accompanied by deep qualitative changes being made at the heart of it. The main consequence of socialist industrialization is the rapid increase in the numerical strength of workers in large industry and the concentration of workers in large- and medium-sized plants. This phenomenon is accompanied by a rise in the level of education and vocational qualifications, especially among workers in the basic sectors of industry, construction, and transportation.

We must nevertheless remember that as the result of the profound changes in the social structure during the past quarter century in Poland, just about two-thirds of the present working class comes from small towns and rural areas where there did not used to be any industry. A feature which is characteristic of our working class is the large proportion of young people in it. It is an important task of the party and especially of its workers' groups to structure and deepen the political awareness of the young parts of the working class and to instill in all its component elements the values which are characteristic for highly-qualified, large-industrial proletariat cadres.

Comrade Edward Gierek pointed out at the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in February of 1974 the following on tasks in this area: "We should undertake a broad program of moral training within the ranks of the working class and consistently implement it. The attitude of the working class plays a decisive role in structuring the mentality of all working people, but it is for this very reason that its socialist values and characteristics should be bolstered in its attitude. In this spirit we must educate and indoctrinate, especially young workers. This is an important task of our party, a task whose execution will always be supported by the older experienced generation of the large-industrial working class."

As everyone knows, in 1971 the secretariate of the PZPR Central Committee adopted a resolution on having the Central Committee become directly interested in 164 enterprises which play a key role in implementing party policy, owing to their size, significance, number of workers employed, and strength of their party organizations. They have 227,000 party members and candidates, including 170,000 workers. The fact that the Central Committee took a direct interest in 164 large plants while keeping them subordinate to the respective local echelons in keeping with the by-laws is helping to activate party organizations and working forces in these plants and at the same time is helping to increase the influence which leading sections of the working class have in shaping the mentality of the society.

We have done an especially great deal to strengthen the working-class nucleus of the party in the period since the Sixth Party Congress. During the past 3-4 years we have turned around the unfortunate tendency which occurred during the latter half of the 1950's. In 1954 workers accounted for 48 percent of the total party membership, but in 1971, they made up 39.7 percent. We were successful in slowing this trend, and by 1975 we have obtained the highest index for accepting workers in the party since the founding of the Polish United Workers Party.

Today the party has 1.15 members in its ranks, nearly 45 percent of the total 2,573,000 members and candidates in the party. Workers are the largest social group in it. The picture of party membership would be incomplete were we to fail to add that 57.2 percent of the group of 180,000 members who are pensioners and retired people formerly were workers. In addition, 25 percent of the members who are presently part of the employed intelligentsia were workers at one time or another. Sixty percent of the members, including about 57 percent of the members who are included in the employed intelligentsia, also come from workers' families.

The growing percentage of workers in the party goes hand in hand with the considerable share of the employed intelligentsia taking party membership, 26 percent. In our attempt to distribute party strength properly, we are devoting attention to strengthening our positions among the creative intelligentsia working in the sphere of education and moral training and in rural areas.

We are also working actively to bolster the party's position among farmers.

Important changes are taking place in rural areas. New generations of farmers who have already been brought up under socialism and who are open to production and social changes, are gradually coming into the arena of contemporary Polish country life. From this we draw conclusions in our farm policy, which actively associates the desire for a continual rise in production with the gradual development of socialized forms of farming. To this end we are creating a suitable technical and material base.

Even now the party's strength in rural areas is considerable. There are 37,500 fundamental party organizations there with more than 676,000 members and candidates, including about 225,000 private farmers. The intelligentsia makes up an important group, especially the approximately 33,000 specialists of the agricultural service and teachers, physicians, and employees of the state administration. The level of party membership is relatively high in the groups of agricultural workers on the state farms. The number of party members in the farm production cooperatives is growing.

There are also many so-called peasant-workers who belong to the party in rural areas. We are trying now to take greater advantage of this group of party members in party work where they live. At the same time, at the instigation of the Central Committee, the local echelons are increasingly referring experienced activists of plant party organization to work in rural areas. They form ties between rural and worker activists, and these bonds are of great significance especially for rural long-range prospects. The Central Committee secretariat is striving to generalize experience in this area and endow it with the form of special guidelines.

We are attaching particular significance to having the most active representatives of the younger generation in the ranks of our party.

During the past five-year period an exceptionally large number of young people entered the age of production activity, about 3.5 million people, or more than 10 percent of the country's population. We are attaching great importance to having the best representatives of this numerically large, energetic, dynamic group of young people swell the ranks of the party. The matter is simple: this is an indispensable condition to the party's proper development and to its natural renewal. At the same time we view this problem through the prism of the important needs of the present period, the tasks of shaping socialist, committed attitudes among the younger generation and of preparing it to take place in the modern ideological confrontation between the two systems.

During the period since the Sixth Party Congress we have done a great deal to expand the party's influence on the group of young people who are studying, attending college, and working at jobs. The deepening integration of young organizations as instigated by the party has played an important role in this. The party's Central Committee is emphasizing having all party organizations and echelons deepen their work among young people, in order to give active support for their instances of initiative, and at the same

time exert an effective influence on their attitudes. The meetings which the party echelons held under the title "The Party Talks to Young People," for example, played a positive role.

We connect the bolstering of party strength first of all with the structuring of proper attitudes among members in keeping with Lenin's hypothesis that each member of the party is responsible for the party and the party is responsible for each member. Belonging to the party means consciously assuming additional responsibilities, and every communist should share in creating the party's moral authority through his attitude and actions. We demand ideological commitment, social sensitivity, dedication in work for the country, and a moral attitude which is above reproach from every member of our party.

The communist model which we are spreading includes leadership in the group in terms of vocational and social activity, the setting of a good example to people outside the party, and encouraging them to take an active part in accomplishing the goals of the party, and the confirming of words with deeds, because the better a party member expresses by his attitude the ideals and principles of behavior announced by the party, the stronger the party's influence on nonmembers will be. We also wrote into the by-laws the obligation to bring children up in the spirit of socialism and to exhibit a model attitude toward family, neighbors, and other party members.

We are working to have party members and nonmembers increasingly understand party members to be in constant readiness to serve its class, socialism, and the nation, steadfastness of convictions and consistency of action, resistance to difficulties, and intransigence toward the foes of socialism. We require the party member to assume a clear, open, party position in every situation, especially in the face of views and actions inconsistent with socialist principles and that he spread the party position in his milieu.

As everyone knows, for some time now we have been dealing with the ideological activation of anticommunism on an international scale. This phenomenon has deeper, class-rooted causes. It is the expression of the efforts of imperialism to hold back the adverse evolution of the balance of power and to cause problems for socialist countries and the communist movement, and also to turn the attention of the societies of capitalist countries away from the structural crisis which is hampering the economy and other areas of social life under the capitalist system.

Under the conditions of increased ideological confrontation between the two systems, the constant systematic efforts against all attempts which those views foreign for Marxism make at ideological penetration and constant polemics with their hypotheses take on particular significance. The class evaluation of the balance of power in the world and in our country and a proper assessment of our foes and their purposes by party members become an important part of our work not only with activists but also with the entire party. We orient our party and our whole ideological front



toward such an offensive. We are getting better and better at expanding it in the working class, in milieus of the intelligentsia, and among college youth, and we are achieving good results.

The broadly conceived system of intraparty information is very important in directing the political and ideological work of party organizations. It insures that party organizations, especially those in large industry, are effectively acquainted with the central committee's position in important political and economic matters and at the same time helps the central committee to become rapidly aware of the views of party members and also the problems disturbing our society.

Among our party members there is a growing awareness of the unity of its national goals and its internationalist position, and the conviction that the guarantees of the success and socialist strength of our fatherland are to be found in the unity and joint dedicated work of all its citizens, that modern Polish socialist patriotism is the continuation of the most noble aspirations of previous generations of Poles, and at the same time that it is directed toward a future which the nation is forging under the leadership of the party.

We ascribe basic significance to the internationalist training of the party and the nation. Modern Poland is successfully strengthening its security and independence, and is solidifying its moral authority in the world thanks to the fact that it is a link in the socialist community and an important part of the world front of the forces of socialism and peace. A keystone of the policy of the party and the state is the bolstering of brotherly relations of solidarity and fruitful cooperation, friendship, and alliance with the Soviet Union and the deepening of ideological unity among Polish and Soviet communists. We also place strong emphasis on the brotherly relations with other socialist states and on the historical importance of the unity of our community as the basis of strength and the success of each of our countries.

We attach a great deal of significance to deepening the personal nature of work with party members and candidates. We have been having success with the personal talks with communists which we began in 1971 and which we are treating as a permanent system of party work. Each year, in keeping with the needs, the secretariat of the Central Committee sets the scope of the milieus for these talks.

We are undertaking many interparty actions of a broad, mass-oriented nature. An eloquent example of this is the annual "party effort," which was begun a few years ago and has already become a tradition. The mass participation of party members in socially useful projects which have lasting effects bring the party to light in joint activities and demonstrate its solidarity, active stance, and ability to organize and mobilize.

We also take steps to increase the effectiveness of daily party ideological and political work. We systematically bring ideological and political problems into the subject matter of party meetings, and we provide encouragement for developing discussion concerning all the important problems of our policy at these meetings. Here we try to see that at party meetings assessments based on principle are presented and that criticism aimed at making improvements on the present reality is expanded. We are improving rapid, current information for activists on national and international problems. We want each of our organizations to be a center for the development of socialist human relations throughout the employee group.

An important direction in the further improvement of ideological and political work among party members and the working forces is the creation, within the places of employment and party echelons, of agitators specially prepared to explain current problems of party policy. We are providing providing these groups with the necessary materials.

In our organizing work we are striving to adapt the content and forms of action more and more to the different conditions of the various social groups. This is expressed in translating tasks into concrete deeds and in improving the work methods of the party organizations working in these groups. The secretariat of the party's Central Committee during the past few years has passed a number of resolutions to this end and issued many guidelines for this purpose.

Taking into account the growing importance of efficient and effective administration and management of the national economy, which makes administration employees responsible for carrying out the tasks of the country's socialist development and for taking full advantage of all possibilities and reserves, the Central Committee issued a resolution before the Seventh Party Congress, on the subject of the work of fundamental party organizations in ministries and central agencies, and recently, on the work of party organizations in the local administrations.

Taking into account the rising ideological-upbringing tasks of the schools and cultural and educational facilities, we are setting the directions of work for the party organizations operating within them in improving the socialist system of moral training. In a similarly comprehensive way we have treated the tasks of party organizations operating among employees of retail trade and services and among railroad workers.

We intend to continue our practical work in translating into concrete terms the tasks in the area of bolstering party organizations in the various groups. By building up the moral authority of party organizations in each group and by deepening real ties with working people, we are creating conditions for better, more aggressive, more effective work throughout the party.

Experience of the past few years proves that improving the party's working style helps to a great extent to bolster and upgrade its operating effectiveness.

We devoted a great deal of attention at the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses to the internal life of our party. We discussed this subject at the 16th Central Committee plenum. The hypotheses approved at that time, "On the Further Ideological, Political, and Organizational Strengthening of the Party, the Leading Force in Socialist Construction," provided generalizations in the improvement of party work gathered during the previous 4 years and attest to further progress in this area.

The party bases its work on the development of its rank and file and of preparing members for battle on the inviolable Leninist principles of democratic centralism, principles whose practical application is constantly being improved. Comrade Edward Gierek gave a clear explanation of the essence of tasks in this area at the Eighth Central Committee Plenum in February of 1971, when he said: "We should follow a simple principle in our party activity: more discussion before making decisions and more discipline in carrying out established programs."

The Leninist style of operations and consistent adherence to the principles of collegial decision-making by the Central Committee are important in strengthening democratic centralism throughout the party. The Central Committee's working style has an effect in turn on the climate and style of action and on the content and methods of the work of local party units.

All our experience, especially experience gathered in periods where difficulties in development are overcome, convinces us that at the source of our party's strength, its offensive stance, and its ability to operate in a flexible manner lies the fact that during the 33 years of development of our socialist fatherland we have brought up hosts of party activists who are devoted, dedicated absolutely to the cause of socialism, and faithful to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, people upon whom we can always count. In our concern for high standing for activists handling functions in elected party leadership and in various groups of social organizations, we are taking particular steps to expand the role of worker activists of the party. The lasting basis of this is the expansion of various sorts of education and training for worker activists since 1971.

The party machinery is a part of the activists' group. Now, since the reform in the territorial division of the country, more than 64 percent of party machinery employees work in the lowest echelons which have direct contact with the fundamental party organizations. Their political level, knowledge, and cultivated style of operation are improving.

There is a direct relationship between actions aimed at making intraparty democracy deeper and those which help to develop and enrich the forms of socialist democracy in our country. We are developing those components of the style of party work and those forms of it which make it possible for the party and all its groups to listen better to the voice of the masses and to take advantage of their opinions to improve decisions and, where necessary to correct them too. We do not think there is any issue, no matter how difficult, which cannot be discussed frankly and openly with the society.

During the period of the past 6 years we have managed to bolster the party's moral authority in society and to deepen society's faith in our policy. One of the decisive factors in this was, and still is, our expansion of a real dialogue with the society concerning key issues of our country. The need for further development of socialist democracy is related to the positive changes taking place in the political thinking of the society and in its level of involvement. These changes are part of the whole historic period of people's power. They have become deeper in recent years and they are continuing to grow. We see these changes to be the consequence and expression of general, universal laws concerning socialist construction which apply to all countries in our community.

Along with the dynamic increase in the education and qualifications of millions of citizens in our country and their increased awareness and activity, it becomes more and more important to take full advantage of the great potential to be found in our people. This is furthered by making better use of the institutions of socialist democracy. Such a direction of party action bolsters its leadership role, activates our society, and makes it easier to accomplish the tasks of socioeconomic development.

An important contribution of the past few years is the practical incultation and ever more effective application of methods of consulting the public on basic problems and decisions. The principle of holding consultations, which was recently ratified in the constitution, has proved to be very fruitful.

In all guidelines and ongoing work the Central Committee and its bodies are showing the local echelons and party organizations the need for giving priority to the issue of maintaining and deepening daily ties with people outside the party and of improving the ways in which their opinions can be used. We are emphasizing the idea of having every matter which reaches a party organization or echelon reviewed comprehensively and of seeing that no proposal goes unanswered.

It is the places of employment which are a plane of broad contact between the party and nonmembers. It is very important for this contact to be direct and sincere, free from formalism, and full of friendly goodwill and collegiality. We assign to party groups a great role in deepening our ties to nonmembers.

During the present period, we consider the improvement of the work of state representative bodies in the Sejm, people's councils, and all the institutions of the workers', rural, and residents' self-government to be an especially important plane for deepening the ties between the party and the society.

We attach tremendous significance to the improvement of the work of the trade unions. In keeping with the Leninist conceptualization of their role, we give the trade unions the task of still deeper and more concrete

joint participation in structuring general national decisions and in influencing the life of the places of employment. We want the union organizations to operate to an increasing extent as a representative and educator of the working forces and to know how to avoid the creation of conflict situations in plants and how to resolve them properly.

The trade and party organizations' support for creative initiative on the part of employees and for constructive criticism concerning defects and instances of neglect is an important element of the worker democracy in the plants. We also ascribe a great role to criticism in the mass media, as the Politburo recently emphasized in a special resolution.

With the self-criticism proper for communists we are constantly looking for ways to make further improvements in our work to strengthen the power of the party and to upgrade the quality of the rank and file. We are not going to rest on our laurels.

In the whole system of party construction we are guided constantly and consistently by Leninist principles and standards, along with socioeconomic requirements for the development of the country, for deepening socialist social relations, and for strengthening the socialist state. In this work we are at the same time guided by the desire to deepen within the party, among the working class, and throughout the nation, a sense of the unbreakable bond to the CPSU, the Soviet nation, the parties and nations of other brother countries, the international communist and workers' movement, and all the forces of progress and peace, a bond which is derived from proletariat internationalism.

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CSO: 2600

PZPR JOURNAL COMMENTS ON POLISH CLASS STRUGGLE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 77 pp 119-129

[Article by Wlodzimierz Wesolowski, Jerzy J. Wiatr]

[Excerpt] An important consequence of socialist integration is the evolution of relations between social classes and strata. After over 30 years of the construction of socialism in our country, these relations have taken a decidedly new form. It is the result of the domination of the common and nationwide interests of the working people over the individual differences of interests appearing between social classes, strata, and groups.

The unity and identity of the basic interests of all classes and strata of the working people is the consequence of the almost complete elimination of conditions of exploitation, is the result of the extensive process of socializing the means of production and the takeover by the working class, together with the entire working masses, of power in the country. Thanks to the victory of socialist conditions of production and thanks to the conduct by the country of a socialist policy toward all social classes and strata, it has become possible to bring closer together and to unify their basic interests. The policy of rapid economic development, of technological modernization, of the cultural advancement of the great masses, in a word, the policy of the accelerated development of Poland, is in the deepest interest of the whole nation. This policy reflects that which is in the common interest of all social classes and strata. Its realization simultaneously strengthens the unity of interests, draws to itself the needs and aspirations of all social classes, strata, and groups in our country.

This does not mean, of course, that the unity of interests is complete or that it excludes the existence of individual differences. It is a characteristic of the development of a socialist society that such differences in an ever greater degree find a solution founded on common interests, based on the practical solution of tasks of a nationwide character. The realization of the policy of intensive modernization of the economy and of the accelerated social development of Poland in the seventies creates conditions more conducive to the solution of individual differences of interests by means of

agreement and by the discovery of compromises which are optimum from the nationwide point of view. In connection with this we must clearly emphasize that the recognition of the existence of differentiated individual interests and their realistic evaluation are indispensable conditions for carrying out a policy permitting these differences to be solved in the best manner. The social sciences, whose analyses reveal the character and tendencies of the differentiation of interests among individual social classes, strata, and groups, have major tasks in this area.

Differences of individual interests have primarily an economic character and result from the varying conditions of life and work of individual categories of working people. Here belong, in the first place, the following differences of interests: those between inhabitants of the countryside and inhabitants of the cities (both in respect to production, in the form of differences of interests between agriculture, which is mostly private, and the socialized sectors of the economy, and in respect to consumption, in the form of differences between material conditions of life attainable in the country and in the city), those resulting from material differences on account of varying levels of personal qualifications, character, and quality of work, and those between demographic groups (e.g., between the old, the young, and the like). The policy of the party consistently aims at the solution of differences emerging here by way of the best possible compromise, that is, in such a way as to satisfy to the greatest possible degree the justified needs and aspirations of all social classes, strata, and groups, and simultaneously to create the conditions for the lessening of such differences of interests in the future. The decisions made at the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in the matter of extending the pension system to the agricultural population serve as an example of this, as does the whole social economic policy of the seventies in general, especially in the area of treating with special solicitude those groups most needing help and care (retirees, people with low salaries, and the like). We have to anticipate, however, that spontaneously acting processes of differentiation, to a certain degree magnified under conditions of rapid economic development, can create incidental and unforeseen differentiations between, for example, individual branches of the national economy. The careful analysis of such events and notification about them so that political and economic decisions to correct them can be made in due time are, therefore, a matter of exceeding importance.

The differentiation of the individual interests of working people discussed here has a nonantagonistic character and can find a full solution within the pale of the socioeconomic conditions of our country. Essentially antagonistic contradictions between the working class and the entire working masses on the one hand, and the remnants of bourgeois forces on the other, have another kind of character. Speaking about the character of the class struggle under conditions of advanced socialist construction in Poland, we should remember that the intensity of this struggle is not only the consequence of the economic positions occupied by remains of the previous capitalist

sector. What is more, these remnants of the capitalist sector only to a certain degree, and rather indirectly at that, influence present forms of the class struggle. This struggle has its basis, on the one hand, in the strength of ideological and political relics, that is, in the preservation in certain social circles of the remnants of the now shattered ideology and political orientation of the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand, in the ideological-political influence of capitalist proximity. Under conditions of peaceful coexistence and struggle of ideas this second aspect has singularly great significance.

This does not mean that we should perceive behind every initiative by anti-socialist forces a direct imperialist inspiration. It is a matter of the indirect influence which the capitalist system, with its ideologies, values, and models of behavior, still exerts on the weaker, more unsteady, more tractable sections of society. These are not massive phenomena. Nevertheless, it is not allowable to ignore this phenomenon, since under particular conditions, if not met by decided counteractions on the part of the party, they are susceptible to intensification and may endanger the basic direction of our development. For this reason the basis of the policy of the party is the strengthening of the socialist integration of the nation, the ever better and more full unification of individual interests with the nationwide interest, and simultaneously the effective, decided isolation of antisocialists forces. Socialist democracy best serves both parts of this task, since it permits wide activization of the masses and simultaneously casts away and isolates groups and tendencies hostile to socialism.

CSO: 2600



POLAND

LABOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL WRITES ON SHAPING OF SOCIAL POLICY

Warsaw PRZEGLAD ZWIAZKOWY in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 77 pp 3-6

[Article by Janusz Obodowski, Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs: "Poland's Role in Structuring Social Policy"]

[Text] Our country's development during the past few years, during which we have been carrying out an expanded social-policy program as set down by the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses, has created a plane which is suitable for activating Poland's participation in international cooperation in the field of social problems. We are engaging in this cooperation mainly by presenting and exchanging experiences and by influencing the structure of international standards, for example, in areas such as the assurance of the right to work and just compensation, training, and the upgrading of job qualifications, proper working conditions, and universal social insurance.

In all these areas, Poland and the other countries of the socialist community have progressive up-to-date solutions which when realized insure continual economic growth, and this is important. Improvements on this system are furthered by cooperation among the labor and social affairs ministries of the socialist countries within the framework of a permanent body of CEMA, the council of labor ministers.

In the recent period the initiative of the socialist countries has clearly come to life within the framework of the CEMA permanent body, especially in the area of problems related to insuring a person's basic rights. The efforts of the labor, wages, and social affairs ministry in Poland on behalf of the development of cooperation in the realm of social affairs made in direct consultation with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, especially between Eastern and Western European countries, have been more strongly accentuated since the CSCE created a more favorable political atmosphere for an East-West dialogue.

The forum of our actions on the multilateral plane consists of international programs and organizations on social affairs, especially the International Labor Organization (ILO), UN European Program for Social Development, and International Association for Social Security. We are also trying to expand bilateral contacts with capitalist countries,

which are showing interest in our solutions, especially in the realm of employment, the training and continuing education of personnel, the vocational activation of women, work protection for women and the family, and the development of the cooperative movement and its role in socioeconomic development.

At the forum of international organizations, our labor, wages, and social affairs ministry, in consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Central Council of Trade Unions, and other interested institutions, presents the achievements of our social policy and carries on activities on behalf of steering the programs of the work of these organizations in such a way as to see that they help more effectively to improve the situation of working people in the capitalist countries, particularly in the developing countries.

In these organizations our country's prestige is growing, as expressed, for example, in the election of Polish representatives to a number of important positions in the leadership of the organizations and at conferences and in the growing demand which the developing countries are showing for Polish experts. The International Labor Organization, which presently has 135 states as members, is a convenient forum for presenting the socialist system's solutions and for presenting an alternative to the capitalist concept of "class peace." This is particularly important, owing to the fact that the ILO is the only organization which is trilateral in nature, that is, representatives of governments, largely delegates of labor ministries, participate in its work along with representatives of labor unions and legislators, all by virtue of various authority. In the case of the socialist countries, the latter are represented by people delegated by directors of socialized enterprises.

It is the basic charge of the ILO to draft international labor standards. The total number of ILO conventions presently stands at 147. Poland is in the forefront of the member countries in terms of the number of conventions ratified, holding 12th place in the world and eighth in Europe with 63 conventions ratified. We shall very soon see the ratification of another five conventions. We have ratified all the ILO conventions concerned with the fundamental rights of man.

Nonetheless, up to the present time none of these conventions has dealt with the very important issue of guaranteeing the right to work. This is basic, and of course is no accidental gap in the "international labor code."

The right to work has been passed over during the 58 years that the International Labor Organization has been in existence. Like the other socialist countries, Poland is active at the ILO forum in working on behalf of international standards to insure progressive, comprehensive solutions in the realm of social policy. The question of insuring the right to work, eliminating unemployment, and maintaining the condition of full employment plays an important role here. The rapid elimination of hidden and clear unemployment inherited from the capitalist system and the attainment and

maintenance of a level of full employment are a real model for many countries of the world and build up Poland's moral authority in the international arena.

At recent sessions of the International Labor Conference, the Polish delegation has issued proposals for building closer East-West cooperation, and exchanging experience and views on the subject of the most effective solutions to burning social problems. The forum of the world conference on employment, distribution of income, social progress, and an international division of labor provided a special occasion for the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries to present comprehensively their experience in solving employment problems.

This conference, which was convened in an exceptional manner, was held last year at the instigation of the socialist countries and the progressive trade unions. First of all, it was to evaluate the employment and unemployment situation and to have a thorough discussion of the problem of meeting what are called the society's basic needs in various regions of the world. Secondly, it was also to define the means of action to improve this situation, for example, by establishing tasks for the International Labor Organization.

On the eve of this conference, the International Labor Office estimated that the level of unemployment in the industrialized capitalist countries was nearly 20 million persons. Now we can add recent data which show that the ranks of the unemployed in the various countries exceeds a million. According to data for this past April, 6.3 million people in the United States were without work. This represents 7 percent of the total labor force, but among young people 17.8 percent are unemployed and among the Negro population 12.3 percent are out of a job. In the economically weaker countries of the European Economic Community, like Ireland and Denmark, the scope of unemployment is relatively broad and includes one out of every ten people who want to work.

The high level of unemployment which is continuing in industrialized capitalist countries undermines the trust of the wide circles of society of these countries in the methods and means adopted to insure lasting employment and the possibility of finding a job. The high unemployment rate in the highly industrialized countries also creates unrest and additional tension on labor markets in the less industrialized countries which supply the more highly industrialized countries with cheap, unskilled labor.

A hidden form of unemployment predominates in the developing countries, which have a relatively low degree of urban development. According to conservative estimates of the International Labor Office the number of people without work is about 300 million, including about 60-90 million unemployed in towns. Altogether in the developing countries about 25-30 percent of the labor force is stricken with unemployment.

According to International Labor Office forecasts, the labor supply in the developing countries will increase by about 227 million persons in the decade from 1970 to 1980, by 308 million in the decade from 1980 to 1990, and by 386 million persons during the last decade of our century, 1990-2000. The developing countries are coming more and more to realize that the industrialized capitalist countries are unable to exemplify the solution to the growing problem of unemployment. Thus, they are becoming more and more interested in the methods used to solve the problem in the socialist countries, because the world employment conference throughout showed the superiority of the socialist socioeconomic system over the capitalist system in solving employment problems.

One of the important events at the world employment conference was the motion by the Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, with the full support of the other socialist countries, for initiative on the matter of ILO's immediate commencement of work on drafting a convention to insure the universal right to work and to establish the necessary legal standards and methods for social and economic solutions to insure that the right will be exercised. This initiative was supported by a majority of the developing countries, a group of trade unions, and Sweden.

It immediately encountered open opposition on the part of a host of highly developed capitalist countries (EEC countries and the United States), but they were forced to admit that they are not in a position to guarantee the right to work or to achieve full employment.

Hence, an undoubted success of the socialist countries and progressive forces in the ILO was the inclusion, in the final documents of the world employment conference, of appropriate formulations and provisions to create the basis for insisting on implementation of the initiative concerning the passage of a convention on the right to work.

In the activities program adopted by the conference there was a resolution (Article 33) asking the administrative council of the International Labor Office to quickly include the matter of a revision of ILO convention No 122 dated 1964 on employment policy, in the agenda of one of the next sessions of the international labor conference. The revision of this convention, whose provisions treat the purposes and means for achieving full employment in only a superficial way, creates some real foundations for expanding it to include the principle of the right to work and legal and socioeconomic guarantees to see that these rights are put into practice.

Considering the question of the consideration of a convention on the right to work to be a very important element in expanding their offensive on the ILO front, the countries of the socialist community extended further support and assistance in the Polish drafting of assumptions for this convention in order that they might be presented at ILO as soon as possible. At

the 63d session of the international labor conference the Polish People's Republic labor minister gave the International Labor Office director general the text of an ILO convention proposal on the right to work and employment policy. In this way we want to encourage the ILO leadership to speed up its work on drafting the convention on the right to work and employment policy.

Another form which Poland is using to expand East-West cooperation is the European Program for Social Development under the UN. The other program seminars and other activities which include specialists from most of the European countries are now being devoted for the most part to methodological aspects of social policy, such as social planning, questions concerning the standard of living, social demography, womens' jobs, and social assistance.

The meritorical directions of the program's activity evolved from issues of social assistance, which were more or less charity-oriented in keeping with the situation in capitalist countries, to the problems of broadly-conceived social policy, based on institutionalized forms. This occurred to a great extent because of the active instances of initiative on the part of the Polish faction, which explained that cooperation with the program could continue, provided that changes were made in the outline of subjects and that the program was adapted to important current social problems occurring in the European countries.

In 1976 seminars were held on methods of integrating planning of social and economic development, social demography (this occurred in Poland), the minimum standard of living, and the administration of social services at the local level. In 1977 there will be a discussion of issues such as the role of men and women in society, social planning methods and techniques, and the problems of income inequalities and their effect on social policy.

Polish specialists, who will have important input into the discussion and whose remarks will enjoy great interest will participate in most of these events this year and have done in the past. In addition, within the framework of what are called study visits, we have entertained in Poland two groups of specialists from Italy who wished to acquaint themselves with the Polish system of caring for elderly people and with social assistance facilities and a group of Irish specialists who wanted to learn about the problematics of child care.

Poland is represented in the AISS by the Social Security Agency. It is AISS's goal to support international cooperation in the area of social security by setting up professional seminars, meetings of experts, the exchange of information and experience, research and analyses on important insurance questions, and the publishing and dissemination of professional materials. Cooperation through this organization makes it possible to present Polish achievements and domestic solutions and to take advantage of the experience of other countries in the area of applying new techniques in practice, especially electronic systems of recordkeeping and computing pension benefits.

The last session of the AISS office (which a Polish representative attended) spoke out in favor of the development of European regional cooperation. The subjects for European research were established for 1978-1980 on unemployment, analysis of disability insurance costs, the financing of a social security system, and the training of social security personnel.

In cooperation with interested institutions and the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs is taking concrete steps to set up international events in Poland to serve the development of East-West cooperation. It is a matter of having events to further the promotion of Polish solutions in the realm of the consistent implementation of the fundamental rights of man.

The subject of improving working conditions is important to international cooperation. We have succeeded in stirring up great interest in the European countries and in a number of non-European countries for an international event sponsored by the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs and the Central Council of Trade Unions devoted to the protection of man in the work environment, and its name would be SECURA. The first international exhibition and international symposium with this name were held in 1975. Inspired by the success they enjoyed, we have decided to set up the next such meeting in 1978.

The International Labor Organization and International Association of Social Security again expressed their support for this venture. SECURA 78 will focus mainly on the issues of combatting dangers in chemical processes and avoiding hazards in plant transport and work at high elevations. Most of the socialist countries, a number of capitalist countries, and the International Labor Organization have already promised to participate in SECURA 78.

In the effort for further activation of European cooperation, assumptions were drafted for the organization of a number of international meetings under the auspices of regional ILO activity. Talks are in progress with the ILO leadership on the subject of setting up meetings in our country with specialists of European countries in 1978-1980. These symposia would be devoted to the following subject matter:

1. Vocational rehabilitation of invalids. This meeting would have the nature of a European symposium (in 1979) sponsored jointly by Poland and Sweden, in cooperation with the ILO.
2. Youth employment: planning, training, and the assurance of jobs.
3. The role of enterprise management in preparing personnel for plants.

The growing campaign of international conservative forces is an undoubted hindrance to the expansion of broad European cooperation in the realm of social issues. These forces are trying to turn the attention of their societies away from the difficult situations in their countries by trying

to distort the picture of the situation in the socialist countries as it applies to the rights of man. This campaign is also waged against the forces of the left in the West and all progressive forces throughout the world. This is related to imperialism acceleration of ideological and political sabotage.

Despite the barriers mentioned, we are taking all sorts of steps to expand direct cooperation on social issues, both multilateral cooperation and bilateral cooperation. We are anxious for further cooperation in the area of social policy with countries of different socioeconomic systems, being mindful of the contribution made to strengthening the process of detente in Europe and the cause of improving the working conditions and living conditions of the working people of our continent.

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CSO: 2600

DECREE ON SERVICES TO FOREIGNERS MODIFIED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 76, 28 Jul 77 pp 4-6

[Decree of the State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic for Amending and Supplementing Decree No 81/1977 of the State Council on the Way in Which Romanian Citizens Can Perform Some Services for the Benefit of Foreign Legal Entities, Their Representations and Foreign Physical Persons That Perform an Activity on the Territory of the Romanian Socialist Republic]

[Text] The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Sole article. Decree No 81/1977 of the State Council on the way in which Romanian citizens can perform some services for the benefit of foreign legal entities, their representations and foreign physical persons that perform an activity on the territory of the Romanian Socialist Republic is amended and supplemented, having the following content:

Decree of the State Council  
on the Way in Which Romanian Citizens Can Perform Some Services for the  
Benefit of Foreign Legal Entities, Their Representations and Foreign  
Physical Persons That Perform an Activity on the Territory of the Romanian  
Socialist Republic

Article 1. (1) Foreign legal entities, their representations and foreign physical persons that perform an activity on the territory of the Romanian Socialist Republic can use services performed by Romanian citizens, in accordance with the provisions of the present decree, only on a basis of contracts concluded:

A. By the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps, with:

a) The foreign states' diplomatic missions, consular offices, consular trade representations and economic or trade representations and their members or employees that are on the records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

b) International organizations under the aegis of the United Nations, their foreign personnel, and UN experts that work on projects of the United Nations;



c) Representations of CEMA or of intergovernmental economic organizations that operate in the Romanian Socialist Republic on the basis of agreements and their foreign personnel;

d) Offices of press, radio and television agencies, their employees and foreign press correspondents;

e) Foreign states' cultural centers and libraries set up on the basis of governmental agreements and their foreign employees;

B. By the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic, with:

a) Trade representations of foreign firms and economic organizations authorized to operate in the Romanian Socialist Republic in conformity with the provisions of Decree No 15/1971 and their foreign personnel;

b) Branches of banks that operate on the basis of agreements and their foreign personnel;

c) Trade representations of state enterprises in some socialist countries that operate within economic representations of the respective states and their foreign personnel;

d) Offices of foreign transportation agencies (air, sea, river, rail and road), representations (offices) of foreign tourist agencies and their foreign employees;

e) Any other categories of foreign legal entities, their representations or foreign physical persons that perform an activity on the territory of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

(2) Foreign legal entities, their representations or foreign physical persons are excepted from the provisions of paragraph 1 if by means of agreements concluded between the Romanian Socialist Republic and other states it is stipulated otherwise.

Article 2. (1) The contract for performance of services is concluded in written form, for a period established by mutual agreement between the parties, and is extended, under the same conditions, if one of the parties does not express its intention to cancel it at least 30 days before expiration.

(2) The rights and obligations of the contracting parties are established by means of the contract.

(3) The contract can be canceled before the expiration of the period, on the initiative of any of the parties, with an advance notice of 30 days.

(4) Cancellation of the contract without complying with the advance notice of 30 days incurs the payment of damages equal to the sums established in

accordance with the provisions of the present decree, calculated for a period of 1 month.

Article 3. (1) Foreign legal entities, their representations and foreign physical persons that conclude service-performance contracts with the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps will pay for services performed by Romanian citizens sums in lei representing the basic wages specified in Law No 57/1974, at the level established for branch group III, and other remuneration, in accordance with the regulations that apply to personnel in socialist state units.

(2) Payment of wages and other remuneration due Romanian citizens is done directly by the foreign legal entities and physical persons on the basis of the payrolls prepared by the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps.

(3) The contribution to social insurance with a quota of 25 percent, the tax relating to the wages due Romanian citizens with a quota of 17 percent and the commission of 5 percent for the services performed are paid to the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps from the reserves in lei created by means of valuta transfer or exchange or from the sums in lei achieved from operations performed in the Romanian Socialist Republic, under the conditions of the law.

Article 4. (1) Foreign legal entities, their representations and foreign physical persons that conclude service-performance contracts with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic will pay for services performed by Romanian citizens the sums specified in the tables in the appendix\* to the present decree, in which the commission of 5 percent is also included.

(2) Payment for the services performed is done from the reserves in valuta in accounts opened at the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade or by means of banking transfers in favor of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Article 5. (1) The Ministry of Finance together with the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic will be able to change the level of the rates specified in the appendix, in conformity with the rise in domestic wages in lei and in the case of significant changes in the rate of exchange of valuta on international money markets or in the level of foreign prices and will be able to supplement the appendix with new positions, establishing the corresponding rates.

(2) The Ministry of Labor together with the Ministry of Finance will be able to equate the positions specified in the appendix with those approved by means of Law No 57/1974.

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\* The appendix is communicated to the institutions involved.

Article 6. The rates specified in the appendix to the present decree or, as the case may be, the basic wages specified in Law No 57/1974 can be raised by up to 25 percent if, owing to the nature of the work, the Romanian personnel that perform the services constantly work past the normal work schedule and they can be lowered by up to 25 percent in the case in which the foreign legal entities, their representations and the foreign physical persons provide room and board to the respective citizens.

Article 7. (1) Romanian citizens that perform services for the benefit of foreign legal entities, their representations and foreign physical persons conclude work contracts for an indefinite or definite period with the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps or with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic, as the case may be, possessing all the rights and obligations specified by the legislation of the Romanian Socialist Republic for personnel employed at socialist state units.

(2) Payment of the wages due is done at the level of the basic wage and of the other remuneration for the held position specified by Law No 57/1974 for personnel of the units of a special grade in branch group III. For the positions and trades that are not on the list of branch group III, payment is done at the level of the wages with which the respective positions and trades are affiliated.

(3) For some positions that require special conditions of preparation or that involve a high degree of difficulty in performing the activity, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic, with the agreement of the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Finance, can use basic wages that are up to 20 percent higher.

(4) In the case in which the Romanian citizens work past the normal work period established by law, the employees in question receive the wages in lei increased in conformity with the percentages by which the wages or rates for the performance of services were increased.

(5) In the situation in which the foreign legal entities, their representations and the foreign physical persons provide room and board, the corresponding sums in lei are withheld from the pay, within the limit of the percentage by which the rates or the basic wages, as the case may be, were lowered, in conformity with Article 6 of the present decree.

(6) For the bonuses, gratuities or indemnities awarded by the foreign legal entities, their representations and the foreign physical persons, the Romanian citizens receive remuneration in lei, in compliance with the provisions of Article 44, paragraph 6, and Article 61 of Law No 57/1974.

Article 8. (1) The act of a person who is employed to work for the foreign entities and persons specified in Article 1, with a violation of the provisions of the present decree, constitutes a contravention and is punishable with a fine from 2,000 to 5,000 lei.

(2) Ascertainment of the contravention is done by the financial control bodies of the Ministry of Finance.

(3) On the date that the report on ascertainment of the contravention becomes final, the respective legal relationship ceases according to law.

(4) The provisions of the present article are supplemented with the provisions of Law No 32/1968 on the establishment and punishment of contraventions.

Article 9. The Romanian citizens employed by the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps or by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic to perform services for the foreign legal entities, their representations and the foreign physical persons specified in Article 1 are included in the average staff figure of the permanent personnel of these units or in the fund for payment for labor according to activities, without spreading out over quarters, as the case may be.

Article 10. The provisions of the present decree also apply to foreign citizens with a permanent residence in the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Article 11. In the contracts concluded in accordance with Article 1, letter B, of the present decree it will be stipulated that the recipients of services are jointly responsible with the physical persons that perform the services that are the object of the contracts for the damages resulting from the illegal acts committed by these persons on the occasion of performing their service activity.

Article 12. The personnel employed at the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps or at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic, in order to perform the services that are the object of the contracts concluded by them, cannot hold another position and cannot perform other services than those that are the object of the respective contracts.

Article 13. The provisions of the present decree also apply accordingly to contracts concerning performances of services with an occasional character or concluded for a period of less than 30 days. In such situations, the concluding of the contract in written form is not mandatory.

Article 14. On the date that the present decree goes into effect, Article 1, letter d, of Decision No 242/1951 of the Council of Ministers on the founding of the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps, Chapter III of Decree No 15/1971 on the authorization and operation in the Romanian Socialist Republic of the representations of foreign commercial firms and economic organizations, and any other contrary provisions are repealed.

Article 15. The present decree goes into effect on 1 January 1978.

By the date that the decree goes into effect, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Romanian Socialist Republic

will make proposals for organizing the Office for Service to the Diplomatic Corps and the "Argus" Office, respectively, in order to carry out the tasks that result from the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Chairman  
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 28 July 1977.  
No 243.

12105  
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BEHAVIOR, DRESS OF TEENAGE GIRLS DISCUSSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 27 Aug 77 p 5

[Article by Carol Roman: "What Do You Accept And What Do You Not In The Behavior Of Today's Girls?"]

[Text] We meet them on the street, in the enterprises, in the institutes - the girls of this new generation - more beautiful than ever, tall and proud, detached and sure of themselves, more cultured, more intelligent, more ... more what? But, it would be better to let the participants of our investigations speak out. Let's find out directly from them how they see the girls.

The first interlocutor is engineer Ion Olaru from the Institute for Planning in the Machine Building Industry. He is also the deputy secretary of the Committee of the Union of Communist Youth at the institute. When he hears our questions he smiles for a second, but then turns serious: "I admire many of our girls. They are full of life and vivacity... At their jobs, when they set out to do something, they do not quit until its done ... I must admit that you can trust some girls more than guys, even in difficult things. And, they are tenacious and know what they want. Let me explain: In our work, there are girls who have worked for many years as designers. They set down their objectives, went to evening classes for planners at 'Grivita Rosie' and in the end they went from planners to planner-technicians. Thus, they increase their own image in their own eyes, and in ours, and increased their salary. They are categorically tenacious and they know what they want."

"Do you have any objections?", I asked the young engineer, who as a student studied alongside many girls and, now, the majority of his work colleagues are...young.

"I don't want to be malicious, but I would like for them to take more care with the 'cleanliness' of their work area, just as they do with their own home and their personal appearance. Unfortunately, often when they leave work their drawing boards are scattered about and their desks are especially disorganized. It is a question of mentality. Let me tell you

about an incident. Some time ago, new work desks were brought into the shop. It was a real pleasure for me to arrange my desk: I covered it with a blotter, I set the corners and laid out my drafting instruments. All this time, two of the youngest girl workers just stayed in their chairs and watched. When I finished, one said to me: 'Comrade Olaru, I have a request. I saw how well you arranged your desk, won't you do mine?' I was astonished. I liked your joke, I said. 'I wasn't joking!' she said. 'I was serious.' I think you know what I wanted to say.

I met actor Valentin Platareanu, deputy director of the Theater of Comedy, after he had finished several hours of difficult rehearsal. He was a little tired and somewhat anxious. After hearing our questions, he perked up: "I like the youth, beauty and grace of the girls... the fact that they are more realistic, that they live each minute with zeal, with a glow. Perhaps they are a little less sophisticated than the girls 'of another era.' I knew them at the institute as good colleagues; on the stage as 'heroines;' among the spectators in the audience as enthusiastic, quickly understanding an undercurrent, generous with their applause; on the street, in shops, in an elevator they have that explosive behavior and vigor that we all admire."

"I have the impression that you don't see any flaws..."

"Not at all...we are merely people. I recognize, perhaps, a certain superficiality. They often go quickly from one thing to another. Then, they sometimes neglect themselves, the beauty that is exclusively feminine. You know how much they can light up or warm up the surroundings, a young girl, groomed, sweet and sensible... Then, I have the impression that some of them do not look carefully in the mirror when they leave home. Too many of them wear pants or 'jackets' whether they fit or not. Maybe it would be better to spend a few more seconds thinking and asking if it looks good or not. In this context, I dare to think out loud that I would like to see some girls looking less like boys. Too often we see them wanting to look like boys, in their dress, their walk and their vocabulary. Equality does not mean the disappearance of femininity. On the contrary. An extra dose of femininity, a delicate gesture at the right moment, a pure, warm, beautiful smile can enliven and encourage more than anything else in the world."

Major Lieutenant Nicolae Dinu of the General Inspectorate of Militia (Legal Directorate) was rapidly returning from an investigation. A young, lively and active man he was happy to answer our questions: "By the nature of my profession, I can state that today's girls think more maturely, understand life more profoundly and can substantiate what they say. I have met them in all surroundings on different occasions. They are not tempted to commit reprobable acts or gestures. For years, I have passed by the factories 'Apollo' and 'Adesgo' - where girls are predominant. They are courageous and know how to take on an open attitude. I will give you an example. Some time ago, a group from the Union of Communist Youth learned that in the hospital where they worked two from medical personnel had

become pregnant and had had abortions. The girls were revolted by the harm to the health of these two young girls who, if they had been well advised and guided, would otherwise have become happy mothers. The Militia's investigation turned up reprobable acts. The meeting of the Union of Communist Youth showed civic awareness towards the young girls and decided to continue to support the efforts of the party organization to permanently create a health spirit in accordance with the principles of our country and the laws of the country."

"What don't you like about the behavior of some girls?", we asked the young investigative officer.

"Just today I met some young girls and from this point I will begin my negative comments. Although from a point of morality you cannot reproach them about anything, it upsets me to hear the vocabulary that is often used: it is poor, trivially easy, clever. A student, a salesgirl in a large store and a worker use a type of 'slang' having an underground meaning and wanting to sound more interesting. It is unpleasant to find that these girls use the motley language of certain street 'parasites' in coffee shops and movie theaters. I have the impression that there is a certain lack of linguistic sensibility since they talk the same way among themselves and in meetings. I also have the impression that many girls disregard the advice given by their families and work colleagues. They consider this advice as 'out of step,' old-fashioned, and 'outdated.' I will say that all the 'parasites' that I have met in my job feel that the duty to work is good for everyone except...them. For that reason, I feel that the party's decision regarding the responsibilities of the socialist collectives and the family in guiding the youth towards work, diligence, boldness and the other old human values will never become either old-fashioned or outdated."

8724

CSO: 2700



ORGANIZATION, FUNCTION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Belgrade JUGOSLOVENSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 11, Nov 76 pp 439-444

[Article by Dusan Josipovic and Radovan Sturanovic, members of the Coordinating Council for the Activity of Local Communities Within the Belgrade City Conference of the SAWP]

[Text] According to the Constitution of Yugoslavia and republic and provincial constitutions adopted in 1974, working people and citizens in settlements, parts of settlements and in a number of connected settlements have the right and obligation, in order to realize their mutual interests and needs, to establish self-management organizations in the local community and in it to make decisions to implement the realization of their mutual interests and for concrete satisfaction of their mutual needs concerning regulating the settlement, dwellings, communal activities, social and child welfare, education, culture, physical culture, consumer protection, protection and improvement of the human environment, national defense and public self-defense, and other aspects of life and work.<sup>1</sup> Thus there is no aspect of life and work in which workers and citizens in their local communities cannot realize their mutual interests and satisfy their mutual needs. Concrete activities and tasks in individual local communities depend on many circumstances.

In reality the local community is a special type of self-management interest community in which workers and citizens directly realize a great number of their socioeconomic, political, social and humanitarian, cultural and other needs and interests. This characterization of the local community is implemented primarily through direct agreement and activities of the working people, on the basis of self-management negotiations with other local communities, organizations of associated labor, self-management interest community and other self-management organizations and communities which have an interest or an obligation in participating in the satisfaction of those mutual interests and needs.

The local community is also a constituent part of the assembly system on a delegate basis, since it includes working people who participate in the performance of public tasks and in decisionmaking on questions of mutual interest in the community and in broader sociopolitical communities.

The working people and citizens in local communities, as well as workers in the basic organizations of associated labor and workers in other self-management organizations and associations, are equal participants in self-management contracts and public agreements by which the participants regulate mutual relations, coordinate their interests, and determine relationships of broader public significance.

The community accomplishes all its functions, tasks and obligations in cooperation with other self-management, governmental and public institutions, especially with those that have the interest or the responsibility to participate in satisfying the needs of the working people and citizens in local communities. In this way the local community appears as the executing agent of horizontal and vertical integration of society.

The interrelations of the local community and other social elements, both within and outside the area of the local community, are expressed in such ways as the following:

- in the process of public planning, or the preparation and implementation of programs and plans of work and development;

- in the process of establishing self-management interest communities (especially in the areas of education, science, culture, physical culture, health services, social and child welfare, dwellings and communal services);

- in cooperation and bonds with organizations of associated labor, which are motivated by mutual interests, or responsibilities in satisfying certain mutual interests and needs of the working people and the citizens in local communities.

The local community is also the place where working people and citizens primarily form freely into sociopolitical organizations (such as the League of Communists, the SAWP, the League of Socialist Youth, and the Veterans Federation) as well as into social organizations, societies and associations. Sociopolitical and other public organizations, societies and associations of citizens are themselves part of the self-management structure of the local community and the political organization of working people and citizens in the local community.

Since the local community falls into the category of primary or basic self-management associations of working people and citizens, together with other basic self-management organizations and associations--the constitution determines the basic principles of its formation, role and activities, as well as the means for realizing self-management rights, responsibilities and obligations of working people and citizens in the local community.

On the basis of and in accord with the constitution, the local community adopts a statute which provides specific regulation of its rights and

responsibilities, its organization and relationships with organizations of associated labor and other self-management organizations and associations, and other questions of significance for its work and the life of working people and citizens in it.

The local community has the nature of a legal entity, which enables it to operate as an independent subject in business and other relations with other public subjects (both on its territory and outside it).

#### The Number and Certain Features of Local Communities

The method and procedure for forming local communities is established by the opština statute. According to the Yugoslav Constitution, the law can determine principles for forming local communities. Identical solutions in this respect are found in the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces, and some of these have additional provisions. For example, the Macedonian Constitution contains a provision requiring that the formation of a local community be decided upon by working people and citizens living in a definite geographic area, and if they do not form a local community, the opština assembly will adopt the resolution on its formation. The Slovenian Constitution states that the working people will adopt a resolution on the formation of local communities or on association with other local communities after debate or agreement in the SAWP organizations. The constitutions of Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina have the provision that the location that is forming a local community will be determined by a decision of the opština assembly after preliminary determination of the opinions of the working people and citizens involved.

The number and appearance of local communities may change with time because of changes in the population (urbanization, reconstruction and general development of the settlement, connections with transportation links, etc.). In such manner new local communities are formed and existing ones bonded together, or the borders of neighboring local communities changed.

At present there are 11,643 local communities in Yugoslavia, including 1,358 in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 239 in Montenegro, 3,778 in Croatia, 1,336 in Macedonia, 1,045 in Slovenia, and 3,887 in Serbia (with 3,049 in Serbia proper, 318 in Kosovo, and 520 in Vojvodina).

According to settlement types, the largest number of local communities are villages, followed by local communities formed from mixed settlements, then local communities formed from city settlements (Table 1).<sup>2</sup> In connection with that, there are also data indicating that according to the degree of urbanization, the largest number of settlements that have formed local communities are not urbanized, followed by partially and then fully urbanized settlements.

Table 1. Local Communities According to the Type of Settlement and the Degree of Urbanization of the Settlement in 1974

	(1) Mesne zajednice — ukupno	(2) Prema vrsti naselja			(6) Prema stepenu urbanizovanosti naselja		
		(3) grad-ska	(4) seo-ska	(5) mešovita	(7) u celosti urbana	(8) delimično urbanizovana	(9) nisu urbanizovana
(10) Jugoslavija	9 864	1 138	7 155	1 571	1 375	2 188	6 301
(11) Bosna i Hercegovina	1 358	121	896	341	104	513	741
(12) Crna Gora	201	12	162	27	20	40	141
(13) Hrvatska	2 696	320	1 897	479	289	534	1 873
(14) Makedonija	1 114	128	979	7	160	95	859
(15) Slovenija	904	84	440	380	176	375	353
(16) Srbija	3 591	473	2 781	337	626	631	2 334
(17) područje van pokrajina	2 756	315	2 219	222	395	490	1 871
(18) Kosovo	318	29	261	28	24	41	253
(19) Vojvodina	517	129	301	87	207	100	210

Key:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Total local communities             | 10. Yugoslavia             |
| 2. According to settlement type        | 11. Bosnia and Hercegovina |
| 3. City                                | 12. Montenegro             |
| 4. Village                             | 13. Croatia                |
| 5. Mixed                               | 14. Macedonia              |
| 6. According to degree of urbanization | 15. Slovenia               |
| 7. Fully urbanized                     | 16. Serbia as a whole      |
| 8. Partially urbanized                 | 17. Serbia proper          |
| 9. Not urbanized                       | 18. Kosovo                 |
|  | 19. Vojvodina              |

The size of local communities can be observed from the data on local communities according to the number of settlements and the number of voters (Table 2).

Table 2. Local Communities According to Size in Terms of Number of Settlements and Number of Voters in 1974

	(1) Mesne zajednice ukupno	(2) Prema broju naselja			(6) Prema broju birača*			
		(3) 1 naselje	(4) 2-5 selja	(5) 6 i više selja	(7) do 1 000 birača	(8) 1 001 do 2 000 birača	(9) 2 001 do 4 000 birača	(10) 4 001 i više birača
(11) Jugoslavija	9 864	6 372	2 509	983	6 233	1 879	1 047	692
(12) Bosna i Hercegovina	1 358	451	604	303	590	416	258	94
(13) Crna Gora	201	25	96	80	114	55	14	18
(14) Hrvatska	2 696	1 942	644	110	2 085	313	154	131
(15) Makedonija	1 114	989	115	10	919	99	54	42
(16) Slovenija	904	191	369	344	534	200	118	52
(17) Srbija	3 591	2 774	681	136	1 991	796	449	355
(18) područje van pokrajina	2 756	2 234	474	48	1 786	533	228	209
(19) Kosovo	318	44	186	88	71	136	82	29
(20) Vojvodina	517	496	21	—	134	127	139	117

[Key on following page]

Key:

- |                                       |                            |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Total local communities            | 10. 4,00 and more voters   |
| 2. According to number of settlements | 11. Yugoslavia             |
| 3. One settlement                     | 12. Bosnia and Hercegovina |
| 4. 2-5 settlements                    | 13. Montenegro             |
| 5. 6 or more settlements              | 14. Croatia                |
| 6. According to number of voters      | 15. Macedonia              |
| 7. Up to 1,000 voters                 | 16. Slovenia               |
| 8. 1,001-2,000 voters                 | 17. Serbia as a whole      |
| 9. 2,001-4,000 voters                 | 18. Serbia proper          |
|                                       | 19. Kosovo                 |
|                                       | 20. Vojvodina              |

According to available data, about 65 percent of local communities are organized on the principle of one settlement comprising one local community, so that most were seen as actual communities of working people and citizens, or as corresponding "natural" units. There are, however, about 1,000 local communities that are composed of as many as six or more settlements (largely in village regions).

Most local communities have up to 1,000 voters (6,233 local communities are in this group), while about 3,000 have 1,001-4,000 voters and only about 700 have more than 4,000 voters. The question of the size of local communities has urgency, however, in some village areas because of the size of the territory upon which it is formed (a large area with a number of settlements), and in some city localities, because of the number of inhabitants, since there are local communities with more than 20,000 inhabitants.

A local community in large cities is usually formed for a settlement with 5,000-8,000 inhabitants, and makes possible the most successful self-management. Urbanistic plans strive to achieve this in building new settlements, as well as in striving to make existing or old city settlements fit into this category through reconstruction (using microregions or apartment zones). In the majority of local communities in cities it is possible to achieve this, but fully two-thirds of the local communities are in areas where the process of urbanization, practically speaking, has not even begun.

In a relatively short time, local communities have made significant efforts in adjusting their organizations and work to the principles of the new constitution. Thus in the course of 1975, most local communities (about 8,000) adopted new statutes, and a significant number had plans and programs for operations and development covering one or more years.

#### Relations With Other Self-Management and Social Elements and Cooperation Between Local Communities

The constitutional principle that working people and citizens should organize in a self-management way as a local community, with the purpose of satisfying

their mutual interests and needs and by self-management contracts or public agreements, make connections with organizations of associated labor, self-management interest communities and other self-management organizations and associations within and outside the area of their local community, has begun to be realized more intensively and broadly. A local community forms connections with all self-management and social entities with which it shares interests. During 1974, somewhat less than 3,000 local communities participated in concluding more than 18,000 self-management contracts and public agreements in various aspects of life and work:

<u>Area of agreement</u>	<u>Number of contracts and agreements in 1974</u>
Settlement administration	724
Communal services and construction	3,040
Consumer protection	719
Child and social welfare	2,089
Education and culture	3,805
Physical culture	1,774
Health services	1,410
Protecting the human environment	217
National defense and public self-defense	812
Other areas	3,759

The relations of local communities with individual self-management and public bodies have their own special features.

The socioeconomic aspect comes to the fore in relations between local communities and organizations of associated labor. Since in the framework of local communities they receive many of their rights, interests and needs, workers are interested in the self-management association of capital and labor within the local community. Consequently local communities are oriented toward cooperation with organizations of associated labor, especially the basic organizations of associated labor and the organizations which are located in the local community, or have parts of their organizations there (in the form of plants, sales facilities, etc.), and therefore conduct their operations on the territory of the local community. This cooperation is manifested in preparations and adoption of programs and plans for work and development. In addition, the constitution decreed obligatory cooperation in operations of mutual interest between organizations of associated labor involved in commerce with goods and services for direct consumption, and local communities and consumer organizations (such as councils or commissions of consumers and users of services). Of special importance are the forms of cooperation between local communities and organizations of associated labor that perform tasks of special public interests, such as various communal organizations (for land administration, urbanism and others).

Cooperation and relations between local communities and self-management interest communities take both institutional forms and forms of action. Working people and citizens, as the users of many services in local communities, participate in the constituting and formation of self-management interest communities, particularly in areas of public service activities such as housing communal economy highway operations, etc. Therefore local communities are the signatories of self-management contracts on the establishment of self-management interest communities of those types. In addition, through their delegates the working people and citizens in local communities select delegates for the assemblies of interest communities and thus participate in deciding matters concerning the operation of those communities. All important questions that are discussed and decided in the assemblies of self-management interest communities are considered by local delegations prior to formal consideration, or else are considered by the entire self-management structure of the proper local community.

To strengthen the influence of working people and citizens on the work of individual self-management interest communities, it is possible within the framework of the local communities to form units of self-management interest communities, for example, for primary education, child and social welfare, health services, and for housing and communal utilities. In those units citizens, as the users of services, can directly participate in negotiations with those who provide the services concerning quality, prices and other questions related to these services. The formation of such units is as yet in the initial stages.

After the adoption of the constitution, which makes the local community a component and obligatory element of the assembly system, cooperation between local communities and agencies of the sociopolitical communities [republics, provinces, opstinas] acquired a new character and content. The establishment of delegations for the assemblies of sociopolitical communities in local communities and the establishment of councils of local communities in opstina assemblies created a mechanism for the consideration of interrelationships between local communities and agencies of sociopolitical communities of all levels, especially in the opstina. In that manner the problems of local communities in large part have become the problems of society as a whole. Particularly through their delegations and delegates, the local communities are able to initiate actions and present suggestions for solving problems that concern the working people and citizens in them.

On the other hand, specified agencies of sociopolitical communities are obliged to contribute to implementing the functions of the local communities; such agencies are the institutes for social planning, statistical services, urbanistic services, public protection services and the like.

The local community can influence the organization and operation of administrative agencies, particularly regarding their relationships with citizens. Within that framework there arises the need for reexamining the

functions, organization and manner of operation of local administrative offices, reception offices in opstina agencies, and other agencies that have direct connections with citizens, for the sake of further coordination of their work with the needs of working people and citizens.

The development of self-management anticipates further gradual transfer of certain functions and operations now performed by sociopolitical agencies, especially opstinas to local communities. These include administration of certain relationships that involve more than one community, reaching decisions on individual matters such as definite rights and responsibilities of working people and citizens, and the performance of other publicly authorized assignments.

Cooperation between the local communities themselves is also of great importance for their further development, affirmation and functioning. The assembly system itself represents an institutional form for achieving that cooperation, through councils of local communities (in opstinas), and through councils of opstinas (at the republic or provincial level). Furthermore, local communities can associate into their own bodies, and establish joint agencies and organizations on the basis of self-management to achieve and coordinate mutual interests.<sup>3</sup>

In practice there are various forms of mutual cooperation of local communities, especially for the developed ones. That cooperation most commonly includes self-management association of capital, organization and performance of various actions, coordination of programs and plans for work and development, etc.

#### The Organization of Self-Management

Forms of Direct Socialist Democracy. The basic goal of organizing self-management in local communities is to assure that working people and citizens in all the parts and activities of those communities actually resolve the questions of their lives and work and other interests to the greatest extent possible, and that they maintain control over the operation of agencies and bodies which select and service those communities. Here must be anticipated first of all the continued development and affirmation of forms of self-expression of working people and citizens (as in meetings of working people and citizens, referendums, and development of the activities of sociopolitical and other public organizations, societies and citizens associations).

The most common forms of personal expression through which working people and citizens participate in self-management are meetings and other gatherings. At those meetings or gatherings, working people and citizens directly debate and take positions on many questions of their lives and work and determine guidelines for the work of delegations and delegates. Meetings of working people and citizens have a variety of forms; they may be general meetings of working people, nominating meetings, consumer meetings, meetings of service consumers, etc.



During 1974 more than 2,200 local communities had six or more meetings, about 2,400 local communities had 4 or 5, and more than 3,500 local communities had 2 or 3 meetings of working people and citizens of various types, not counting the number of general political gatherings and gatherings of renters in apartment buildings (Table 3). In the same year there were 2,263 meetings of consumers and service consumers, as well as 16,000 other gatherings and meetings.

Table 3. Meetings of Working People and Citizens in Local Communities in 1974

	(1) Mesne zajednice — ukupno	(2) Od toga: (3) gradske (4) šeoske (5) mešovite
(6) Mesne zajednice — ukupno	9 864	1 138 7 155 1 571
(7) Od toga:		
(8) koje nisu održale zbor	917	89 705 123
(9) koje su održale po jedan zbor	718	67 551 100
(10) koje su održale po 2—3 zborova	3 653	387 2 656 610
(11) koje su održale po 4—5 zborova	2 368	296 1 701 371
(12) koje su održale po 6 i više zborova	2 208	299 1 542 367

Key:

- |                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Total local communities | 7. Of the total                |
| 2. Of the total            | 8. Holding no meetings         |
| 3. City communities        | 9. Holding one meeting         |
| 4. Villages                | 10. Holding 2-3 meetings       |
| 5. Mixed                   | 11. Holding 4-5 meetings       |
| 6. Total local communities | 12. Holding 6 or more meetings |

Efforts are made to have meetings of working people and citizens held for clearly defined areas within a local community (by streets, parts of streets, neighborhoods, blocks of buildings or single buildings). In cities meetings of working people and citizens with increasing frequency are held by apartment buildings or blocks of buildings.

In 1974, 1,771 local communities held referendums;<sup>4</sup> these included 1,536 local communities holding a single referendum, 164 holding 2, and 53 holding 3; 18 local communities held 4 referendums (Table 4). The largest number of referendums were held concerning local tax contributions.

Working people and citizens in local communities debate and take positions on a large number of questions at various gatherings and forums of the SAWP (conferences, sectional meetings, etc.), as well as at gatherings and meetings that are organized by other sociopolitical and public organizations, societies and citizens associations. In 9,864 local communities there are basic organizations, including 8,089 of the League of Communists, 9,531 of SAWP, 8,484 of the League of Socialist Youth, 7,639 of the League of Veterans of the National Liberation War, 4,635 of sports clubs, 2,673 of cultural clubs, and 1,415 other citizens societies.

Table 4. The Number of Referendums Held by Local Communities in 1974

	(1) Mesne zajednice — ukupno	(2) Mesne zajednice koje nisu sprovele referendum	(3) Mesne zajednice koje su sprovele			
			(4) 1 referendum	(5) 2 referenduma	(6) 3 referenduma	(7) 4 referenduma
(8) Jugoslavija	9 864	8 093	1 536	164	53	18
(9) Bosna i Hercegovina	1 358	894	371	55	27	11
(10) Crna Gora	201	195	5	—	1	—
(11) Hrvatska	2 696	2 080	551	46	14	5
(12) Makedonija	1 114	983	105	21	5	—
(13) Slovenija	904	781	114	8	1	—
(14) Srbija	3 591	3 160	390	34	5	2
(15) područje van pokrajina	2 756	2 420	305	27	3	1
(16) Kosovo	318	295	21	1	1	—
(17) Vojvodina	507	445	64	6	1	1

Key:

- |  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. Total local communities                   | 9. Bosnia and Hercegovina |
| 2. Those holding no referendums              | 10. Montenegro            |
| 3. Number of referendums held by communities | 11. Croatia               |
| 4. 1 referendum                              | 12. Macedonia             |
| 5. 2 referendums                             | 13. Slovenia              |
| 6. 3 referendums                             | 14. Serbia as a whole     |
| 7. 4 referendums                             | 15. Serbia proper         |
| 8. Yugoslavia                                | 16. Kosovo                |
|  | 17. Vojvodina             |

In some local communities, particularly in cities, the citizens express their opinions by questionnaires or other written forms.

### Internal Organization

The local community determines its organization and manner of operation by its statute and other general self-management acts (operating rules, regulations, etc.) which are adopted on the basis of the statute.

Particularly in larger and more advanced local communities, the internal organization is diverse and offers wide possibilities for the participation of a significant number of working people and citizens in self-management. Most of the local communities have the following agencies and bodies: a basic self-management agency (a council, assembly and council of delegates); a consumers council; an arbitration council; a department for national defense; a council on social self-protection; a civil defense headquarters; and the general assembly of the local community.<sup>5</sup>

The basic self-management agency in most local communities has the title of "council." Many are called "assembly," while in Slovenia they are called "the council of delegates of the local community." Although the role and position of those agencies are basically the same everywhere,

the varying titles also point to certain differences. In contrast to an advisory council, an assembly or a council of delegates of the local community has a larger number of members, and at times they are elected and organized in a different manner. In addition, in local communities which elect assemblies or councils of delegates, an executive agency is also elected for that assembly or council of delegates (and entitled a council, executive committee, or the like).

The basic self-management agency is elected on the delegate principle (similar to a workers council in the organizations of associated labor), so that all parts of the local community will be adequately represented and the proper social composition assured. The mandate of members does not last more than 2 years, and no one may be elected to more than two consecutive terms. The procedures and method for electing delegates is regulated by the statutes of the local communities. In some local communities this agency may contain delegates from organizations of associated labor or parts of those organizations which are located in the local community, as well as sociopolitical organizations in the local community.

The basic self-management agency in a local community regularly debates and considers current problems, taking positions on them and preparing proposals and measures which are presented to the working people for final consideration and approval.

Such basic agencies contain 164,345 elected members, of which working people and citizens directly elected 144,394, while the others were delegated by organizations of associated labor (7,361) and sociopolitical organizations, public organizations, societies, and citizens associations (12,603) (Table 5).

Table 5. The Composition and Method of Election of the Basic Self-Management Agency in Local Communities in 1974

	(1) Članovi			(5) Način izbora		(8)
	ukupno (2)	žena (3)	omla- žine (4)	(6) na zborovima radnih ljudi i građana	(7) delegati OOUR	
					delegati društve- no-političkih or- ganizacija i udru- ženja građana	
(9) (10) Jugoslavija	164 345	11 137	19 282	144 391	7 351	12 603
(11) Bosna i Herce- govina	34 949	2 028	4 714	33 370	694	885
(12) Crna Gora	2 997	167	341	2 782	109	106
(13) Hrvatska	34 312	2 132	3 398	30 441	937	2 934
(14) Makedonija	10 279	191	960	10 038	162	79
(15) Slovenija	19 723	3 094	2 576	13 960	2 818	2 945
(16) Srbija	62 085	3 525	7 293	53 800	2 631	5 654
(17) područje van pokrajina	46 141	2 306	5 359	40 039	1 413	4 689
(18) Kosovo	6 049	268	969	5 568	328	153
(18) Vojvodina	9 895	951	965	8 193	890	812

[Key on following page]

Key:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Members   | 9. Yugoslavia              |
| 2. Total   | 10. Bosnia and Hercegovina |
| 3. Women   | 11. Montenegro             |
| 4. Youth   | 12. Croatia                |
| 5. Method of election  | 13. Macedonia              |
| 6. At elections by working people and citizens                               | 14. Slovenia               |
| 7. Delegates of basic organizations of associated labor                      | 15. Serbia as a whole      |
| 8. Delegates of sociopolitical organizations and other citizens associations | 16. Serbia proper          |
|  | 17. Kosovo                 |
|  | 18. Vojvodina              |

The total number of members of basic self-management agencies includes 64,439 agricultural workers and similar workers, 28,756 miners, industrial and similar workers, 7,984 commercial workers, 18,325 management, administrative and similar workers, 6,490 directing personnel, 6,030 specialists and artists, 18,498 persons in other occupations, 3,656 persons without occupations, and 10,177 persons of independent means and other types of support.

Councils or commissions of consumers and service users are formed largely in local communities of cities or of mixed settlement types. Their task is to consider problems of supplying the populace. They initiate meetings of working people and citizens as consumers, as well as other gatherings at which working people and citizens consider the problems of consumers. These councils cooperate with suitable self-management agencies and organizations of associated labor, with self-management interest communities, and also with organizations for consumers in the opstinas, the republic or autonomous province, or the federation, to assure the influencing of public agents who are involved in supplying the citizens, and also for exchanging experiences in work that are of mutual benefit.

In some 2,300 local communities, 4,700 councils of consumers and service users have been formed.

Arbitration councils as a form of self-managing court organs in local communities have an outstanding tradition. About 8,000 such councils with about 30,000 members are operating in over 6,000 local communities. In 1974 arbitration councils handled 58,685 cases, i.e., requests for arbitration, most of which (over 47,000) were in the area of property rights, and the remainder in the area of criminal-legal relations (Table 6).

Commissions for citizens' requests and complaints exist in about 1,000 local communities; these commissions examined about 7,000 requests and complaints in 1974.

Table 6. Arbitration Councils and Commissions for Requests and Complaints in Local Communities, and Their Work in 1974

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Mesne zajednice koje imaju mirovna veća	Mirovna veća	Članovi mirovnih veća	Molbe za posredovanje u 1974. (5) primljene	(6) rešene	Mesne zajednice koje imaju komisije za molbe i žalbe	Primljene molbe i žalbe građana u 1974.	
(9) Jugoslavija	6 169	7 980	29 889	58 685	48 437	921	7 249	
(10) Bosna i Hercegovina	1 041	1 910	7 878	10 620	8 635	112	1 176	
(11) Crna Gora	79	144	596	526	389	3	26	
(12) Hrvatska	1 194	1 464	4 413	9 431	8 343	291	1 555	
(13) Makedonija	879	963	3 195	6 788	5 562	104	807	
(14) Slovenija	545	616	2 760	3 510	2 879	56	493	
(15) Srbija	2 431	2 883	11 047	27 810	22 629	355	3 192	
(16) područje van pokrajina	1 816	2 207	7 863	16 518	13 923	228	2 124	
(17) Kosovo	201	252	1 317	1 163	736	47	321	
(18) Vojvodina	414	424	1 867	10 129	7 970	80	747	

Key:

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Number of local communities with arbitration councils                    | 9. Yugoslavia              |
| 2. Arbitration councils   | 10. Bosnia and Hercegovina |
| 3. Number of members of arbitration councils                                | 11. Montenegro             |
| 4. Requests for arbitration in 1974   | 12. Croatia                |
| 5. Received   | 13. Macedonia              |
| 6. Resolved   | 14. Slovenia               |
| 7. Number of local communities with commissions for requests and complaints | 15. Serbia as a whole      |
| 8. Requests and complaints received in 1974                                 | 16. Serbia proper          |
|   | 17. Kosovo                 |
|   | 18. Vojvodina              |

The department or headquarters of national defense, the headquarters for civil defense, and the department for public self-protection as separate agencies of local communities are component parts of the national defense system, of civil defense and public self-defense; they have an important role in developing the social status of their organizations.

The general assembly of the local community in many local communities is called to consider and take positions on matters of principle and of highest importance for the development of the local community. Most often the general assembly contains the basic administrative agency of the local community (with the title of council or assembly), delegations of the local community, and executive agencies of sociopolitical organization in the local community.

## The Delegation or Delegations

After the adoption of the Yugoslav Constitution and republic and provincial constitutions in 1974, all local communities formed delegations for the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, from whose numbers delegates were elected to those assemblies. All opstina assemblies formed special councils of local communities that, together with the councils of associated labor and the sociopolitical councils, make up the opstina assemblies. In addition, the working people and citizens in local communities, through their delegations and delegates in opstina assemblies, participate in electing delegates for assemblies of the broader sociopolitical communities [federation, republics, provinces].

At first those unified delegations of local communities also performed the function of delegations for the assemblies of self-management interest communities that were established in social sectors and in the areas of housing, communal services and roads and highways, electric power distribution, etc. Later the trend was toward the self-management interest communities forming one or more special delegations for these purposes in the local communities.

There are 140,000 members in delegations of local communities in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities according to data from a recent questionnaire.<sup>6</sup> Already by 1975 about 4,500 of these delegations had programs and work plans, and about 3,500 adopted operating rules that year. The delegations in the local communities questioned held more than 48,380 sessions in 1975, at which there were about 575,000 participants. Most of the delegations (more than 4,000) held from one to four sessions, and about 3,000 held 5-8 sessions. Somewhat more than 900 delegations held 9 and more sessions.

## The Material Basis and Other Operating Conditions

The following sources of funds are available for the mutual needs of working people and citizens in local communities:

--funds which the working people and citizens themselves contribute directly or by some other method;

--funds for the satisfaction of mutual needs in the local community, provided by workers in basic organizations of associated labor located in the local community area, and workers of basic organizations of associated labor and other self-management organizations and associations whose family members live on the territory of the local community, but who work in basic organizations of associated labor outside it;

--a part of the income set aside by working people in basic and other organizations of associated labor, self-management interest communities and other self-management organizations and associations, which is earmarked for satisfying the mutual needs of the local community;

--funds contributed by self-management interest communities and other organizations and associations for financing the programs of the local community;

--funds from tariffs and taxation which the opstina statute defines as the permanent income of the local community;

--a part of the funds that the opstina transfers to the local community to meet mutual needs, in accordance with the developmental programs of the local community and the opstina or a part of the opstina budget, funds and other monies;

--compensation for services performed by the local community and other incomes and monies obtained by the local community by its own activities.

Contributions and other forms of revenue out of the personal income of working people and citizens today are the most common form of assuring funds, particularly in local communities in villages and mixed settlement areas. Besides that, most opstinas designate from their budgets and funds a portion of their funds for the operations of local communities, both those which have a general character (such as the operation of agencies and services of local communities, certain tasks of national defense, public self-defense and civil defense, etc.), as well as certain activities related to satisfying the mutual needs of working people and citizens in local communities.

Since the adoption of the constitution, however, other forms of assuring funds have increasingly come to the fore. Opstina assemblies with growing frequency are funding general operations and the functions of agencies and services of the local communities, while other sources are being sought for satisfying mutual needs, including various forms of obtaining assessments from working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor, and other self-management organizations and associations. There are examples where, by an act of an opstina assembly, certain sources of funds which otherwise belong to the opstina are set aside for the needs of local communities (such as taxes on total income, certain official taxes, etc.).

Some opstinas, local communities, organizations of associated labor, and self-management interest communities have joined together to conclude public agreements and self-management contracts for pooling funds for specific purposes in local communities. A significant number of local communities has concluded self-management contracts with organizations of associated labor, with self-management interest communities, or with labor associations to combine resources for individual tasks.

In 1974, 9,864 local communities had combined incomes of more than 2.8 billion dinars. Of that, about 300 million dinars (about one-eighth) was spent for the administrative expenses of the local communities (salaries of personnel, space and material, etc.), about 190 million went for other

current expenses (such as social welfare and other contributions), and the entire remainder went for investments in construction projects, equipment and inventories, institutions and structures which were established or constructed by the local communities (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7. Expenditures of Local Communities in 1974 in thousands of dinars

	(1) Ukupno	(2) Rashodi administracije mesnih zajednica	(3) Ostali tekući rashodi	(4) Investi- cioni rashodi
(5) Jugoslavija	2 048 826	295 558	191 112	1 441 166
(6) Bosna i Hercegovina	380 128	26 875	11 959	336 365
(7) Crna Gora	7 287	1 758	450	4 819
(8) Hrvatska	575 486	99 581	61 889	358 657
(9) Makedonija	57 707	3 339	1 562	51 674
(10) Slovenija	273 289	38 723	63 864	155 572
(11) Srbija	754 929	125 282	51 388	534 079
(12) područje van pokrajina	382 197	45 599	18 386	302 727
(13) Kosovo	3 800	624	229	2 542
(14) Vojvodina	368 932	79 059	32 773	228 810

Key:

- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Total  | 8. Croatia            |
| 2. Administrative expenses of local communities | 9. Macedonia          |
| 3. Other current expenses                       | 10. Slovenia          |
| 4. Investment expenditures                      | 11. Serbia as a whole |
| 5. Yugoslavia                                   | 12. Serbia proper     |
| 6. Bosnia and Hercegovina                       | 13. Kosovo            |
| 7. Montenegro                                   | 14. Vojvodina         |

Table 8. Current and Investment Expenditures of Local Communities According to Purpose in 1974 in thousands of dinars

(1) Vrsta delatnosti	(2) Tekući rashodi	(3) Investicioni rashodi
(4) Ukupno	191 112	1 441 166
(5) Dečja zaštita	1 620	4 508
(6) Socijalna zaštita	8 371	1 165
(7) Zdravstvena zaštita	2 361	13 020
(8) Prosvetna delatnost	5 011	33 056
(9) Kulturna delatnost	8 828	29 303
(10) Fizička kultura	8 060	24 988
(11) Komunalna delatnost	95 043	1 275 589
(12) Zaštita čovekove sredine i javna higijena	5 277	24 715
(13) Opštenarodna odbrana	3 374	2 735
(14) Društvena samozaštita	1 702	1 505
(15) Ostale delatnosti	51 465	30 582

Key:

- |                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Type of activity     | 4. Total          |
| 2. Current expenditures | 5. Child welfare  |
| 3. Investments          | 6. Social welfare |

[Key continued]



- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| 7. Health services        | 12. Protecting the human environment and public health |
| 8. Educational activities | 13. General national defense                           |
| 9. Cultural activities    | 14. Public self-protection                             |
| 10. Physical culture      | 15. Other activities                                   |
| 11. Communal utilities    |  |

Only one-third of all local communities have office space for their operations, and one-sixth of them have suitable facilities for public activities. In a significant number of local communities actions are being taken to build local community centers, by building structures that will provide space for numerous functions of the local communities.

#### Activities To Satisfy Mutual Needs

Considering the total number of communities and their dispersion, it is not possible to record all the activities and the results of operations of local communities to satisfy the mutual needs of working people and citizens in individual areas (such as public works, housing, communal utilities, social and child welfare, education, and culture). The following data only partially illustrate those activities, as reported by the Federal Statistical Institute for 1974.

Table 9. Activities of Local Communities in the Area of Communal Building and Public Works in 1974

(1) Vrsta delatnosti	(2) Obim delatnosti — količina			
	ukupno (3)	gradske (4) mesne zajednice	seoske (5) mesne zajednice	mešovite (6) mesne zajednice
(7) Izgrađeno puteva javnog saobraćaja (u km)	7 204	408	4 999	1 797
(8) Opravljen puteva javnog saobraćaja (u km)	29 219	1 158	21 604	6 457
(9) Izgrađeno mostova	2 415	57	1 954	404
(10) Popravljen mostova	4 040	102	3 154	784
(11) Izgrađeno trotoara (u hiljadama metara)	255 900	137 300	50 750	67 850
(12) Zasađeno stabala (u parkovima, drvodima i dr.)	924 342	167 830	463 852	292 660
(13) Uređeno novih zelenih površina (u ha)	17 641	8 731	4 166	4 744
(14) Pošumljeno površina (u ha)	64 917	3 554	34 923	26 440
(15) Izgrađeno trafostanica	1 617	167	1 016	434
(16) Izgrađeno priključaka električne mreže (u km)	6 354	349	4 671	1 334
(17) Izgrađeno vodovodnih rezervoara	3 182	88	2 545	549
(18) Izgrađeno vodovodne razvodne mreže	10 541	2 066	5 907	2 568
(19) Izgrađeno kanalizacione mreže	913	273	351	289

#### Key:

- |                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Type of activity             | 5. Village local communities      |
| 2. Extent of activity--quantity | 6. Mixed local communities        |
| 3. Total                        | 7. Building public highways (km)  |
| 4. City local communities       | 8. Repairing public highways (km) |

[Key continued]

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 9. Bridges built                        | 14. Forestation (hectares)          |
| 10. Bridges repaired                    | 15. Transformer stations built      |
| 11. Sidewalks built (thousands of m)    | 16. Electrical lines installed (km) |
| 12. Trees planted (parks and park-ways) | 17. Water reservoirs built          |
| 13. New green plantings (hectares)      | 18. Water pipelines built           |
|   | 19. Sewer lines added               |

In the area of communal building and public works, local communities direct the building and repairing of roads, the planting and maintenance of green areas, forestation of unwooded areas, construction of the electric power network, and installation of water pipelines and sewer systems (Table 9).

The activities of local communities in the area of maintaining public services and housing include construction and adaption of facilities for child welfare, physical culture, education, health services, and service activities (Table 10).

Table 10. Activities of Local Communities in Constructing and Adapting Structures for Public Services in 1974

		(2) Obim delatnosti — količina								
		(3) ukupno		(6) gradske mesne zajednice		(9) mesne zajednice		(12) mešovite mesne zajednice		(12)
(1)	(5)	(7)	(8)	(10)	(11)	(13)				
Vrsta objekata	izgra- deno	adap- tirano	izgra- deno	adap- tirano	izgra- deno	adap- tirano	izgra- deno	adap- tirano		(14)
(15) Zgrade za dnevni boravak dece	91	111	34	23	33	54	24	34		
(16) Igrališta za decu	339	257	103	77	154	117	82	63		
(17) Fiskulturni tereni	454	361	71	57	269	224	114	80		
(18) Fiskulturni objekti	200	143	33	26	104	67	63	50		
(19) Zgrade za društveni život omladine	197	529	19	59	142	357	36	113		
(20) Škole	328	273	43	24	229	189	56	60		
(21) Domovi kulture	173	429	9	30	136	306	28	93		
(22) Biblioteke i čitaonice	126	200	14	18	88	134	24	48		
(23) Zdravstveni objekti	180	172	29	6	114	129	37	37		
(24) Objekti uslužnih delatnosti za snabdevanje građana	632	458	202	119	280	229	150	110		

Key:

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Type of structure            | 14. Adapted                                   |
| 2. Extent of activity--quantity | 15. Day care centers                          |
| 3. Total                        | 16. Playgrounds for children                  |
| 4. Built                        | 17. Sports areas                              |
| 5. Adapted                      | 18. Sports buildings                          |
| 6. City local communities       | 19. Youth center buildings                    |
| 7. Built                        | 20. Schools                                   |
| 8. Adapted                      | 21. Cultural centers                          |
| 9. Village local communities    | 22. Libraries and reading rooms               |
| 10. Built                       | 23. Health centers                            |
| 11. Adapted                     | 24. Service facilities for supplying citizens |
| 12. Mixed local communities     |   |
| 13. Built                       |   |

Local communities also are appearing as the founders of institutions for day care of children, youth clubs, libraries and cooking school kitchens, and also as the organizers of literacy courses, health training, and cultural and entertainment events (Table 11).

Table 11. Activities of Local Communities in the Area of Maintaining Public Standards and Cultural and Educational Activities in 1974

	(1) Ukupno	(2) Gradske mesne zajednice	(3) Seoske mesne zajednice	(4) Mestovite mesne zajednice
(5) Osnovano ustanova za dnevni boravak dece	125	55	26	44
(6) omladinskih klubova	611	138	292	181
(7) biblioteka	182	17	119	46
(8) dačkih kuhinja	360	35	237	88
(9) Organizovano kurseva za opismenjavanje	249	47	128	74
(10) kulturno-zabavnih priredbi	15 201	2 496	8 477	4 228
(11) kurseva zdravstvenog prosvetavanja	1 419	350	627	442

Key:

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Total                            | 7. Opening libraries                                |
| 2. City local communities           | 8. Cooking school kitchens                          |
| 3. Village local communities        | 9. Organizing literacy courses                      |
| 4. Mixed local communities          | 10. Organizing cultural and<br>entertainment events |
| 5. Establishing day care<br>centers | 11. Organizing health care courses                  |
| 6. Establishing youth clubs         |   |

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. On the constitutional concept of local communities see JUGOSLOVENSKI PREGLED, July-August 1974, pp 272-273; and on the position, status and development of local communities until 1965, see JUGOSLOVENSKI PREGLED, October 1965, pp 367-372.
2. The data in this work are taken from the publication BILTEN (Bulletin) of the Federal Statistical Institute, No 982, October 1976, and concern 9,864 local communities which were subjects of a questionnaire.

3. The Croatian and Slovenian constitutions contain special provisions for cooperation between local communities in association into special local community organizations, and similar forms of organizations.
4. A referendum is a form of expressing personal preference by secret ballot, by indicating "yes" or "no" for the given proposal.
5. For example, the "25 of May" local community in Novi Beograd contains an assembly, with a council of the local community Novi Beograd, a planning department, a national defense department, a civil defense headquarters (within the community national defense council); a department for public self-protection, a regulatory commission, a commission for social welfare, health, & child welfare, a commission for education, culture and physical culture, an employment commission, and a commission for housing and communal affairs; all are agencies of the assembly. There are also a self-management control agency and an authorized delegation of the local community.
6. Data collected during elections for assemblies of sociopolitical communities in 1974 show that 159,569 members were elected to 11,583 local community delegations.

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